Enough on our plate?
The National School Nutrition Programme in two schools in Katlehong, South Africa

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this research report is, except where specified, my own work and has not been submitted for degree purposes to any other university.

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Abstract

The National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) is a nation-wide programme aimed at children in the most deprived primary and high schools in South Africa. It has a three-pronged approach to nutrition: school feeding schemes, food gardens and nutrition education. This study has researched and analysed the way in which the NSNP functions, from the creation of menus at national and provincial levels of government through to the implementation of the programme via district offices and on to the management and experience of the programme at individual schools. Two case study schools were chosen for this report. They are primary schools situated in Katlehong township which falls within the Ekurhuleni South educational district of Gauteng. Their similarities and differences have been used to highlight significant factors that impact the effective management of the programme. This study investigates if and how the NSNP is a mechanism employed by the South African government to address disadvantaged communities' needs and how it promotes social development through the improvement of education and food security.

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List of acronyms

AIDS	Autoimmune Deficiency Syndrome
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education
GDE	Gauteng Department of Education
GET	General Education and Training Band (Grades 1-9)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NSNP	National School Nutrition Programme
PSNP	Primary School Nutrition Project
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organisation

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Food is a contentious issue the world over. Some people have too much of it and others have too little; some struggle to get food and variation in diet is unthinkable, while others choose between ten different restaurants within a one-kilometre radius. For those who take food for granted, menus are a collection of numerous inconsequential choices constrained mostly by personal preference. These choices may be influenced by the intensity of hunger and available budget, yet the consumer is constantly aware that numerous, equally satisfying and financially viable options are available elsewhere and immediately. Food is not a struggle for the haves – deciding what to eat from a broad and detailed range of available products is often the only challenge. The same constraints do not rule over the less fortunate. For them, menus are not a site of struggle because, quite simply, diverse menus do not exist for them. The daily menu of the less fortunate is modest and monotonous and is very much constrained by available resources, be those food-related or financial. Diet is predetermined by poverty, access to land and inequality. If the poor do not own land they can work, they are not able to produce food to feed themselves or to sell to gain money to buy what it is that they need. For many on the margins of employment opportunities, poverty (and hence access to food) is a daily struggle. Inequality in terms of power relations and gender continue to oppress the poor and hinder them from participating freely and productively in society.

What then does this mean for those least able to change their circumstances: children from poor communities? How are they meant to negotiate a world full of food to which they have little access? School feeding schemes are a crucial part of these disadvantaged children's lives because the programmes build on and offer far more than a daily meal. School feeding schemes are evidence of state intervention in childhood development, community upliftment through the provision of resources, and skills development. These programmes emphasise education and good academic performance as a way out

of poverty as well as a step towards food security, and are, on the most simple and practical level, a means of national development. Learners are provided with food in the hope that an offer of a regular meal will not only improve attendance but also performance. Pupils who have had a proper meal are able to concentrate and focus on their classes far more easily than those who are battling hunger, dehydration and malnutrition. Better academic performance gives learners the chance to obtain further qualifications which will assist them to take up employment offering adequate remuneration and the promise of a better life. The greater the number of individuals able to achieve this process, the better the prospects for growth and development in South Africa.

Education is one of the concerns of this report, particularly as an underpinning feature of development. This study aims to explore what government is doing in terms of supporting and improving the socioeconomic circumstance of poor children in South Africa, particularly as it relates to food, and how those who are directly affected experience this support. Preliminary research indicates that the Department of Basic Education (DBE) administers a feeding scheme in South African schools known as the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP). This study seeks to investigate the nature of such a food programme and how it is implemented, in addition to how sustainable and practical it is. This is done in light of case studies investigating a successful school and an ineffective school which demonstrate what works and what does not work in terms of the programme. More specifically, the menu used in the programme was studied and followed from its genesis at the level of national government through to the experience of it at the level of individual schools. For the purposes of this research report, data collection was limited to two case studies in Katlehong, Gauteng.

I will show that the programme's menu can be interpreted as a representation of government's commitment to social development, specifically school feeding programmes and the complexities surrounding the current programme. The menu is thus a natural and useful tool through which to investigate the NSNP.

I chose to focus on one educational district within the Gauteng region, in this case Katlehong (a socioeconomically poor informal settlement), and I used two schools as case studies which I have named School X and School Y to maintain confidentiality and anonymity. School X is a flourishing primary school that has implemented the programme successfully and has managed to attract and retain a fruitful relationship with an overseas donor and local partner organisation. School Y is located approximately one kilometre away from School X, yet the programme has been a resounding failure. The same donor organisation and local partner work at both schools but the experience at School Y has been fraught with miscommunication, a lack of cooperation and overwhelming frustration for the local partner. The contrast between the two schools, despite the negligible geographic distance that separates them, is vast. I was particularly interested in assessing the potential reasons for the discrepancy, in addition to the menus and the implementation of the feeding programme in these schools.

Several sub-questions were investigated during the research process. Firstly, what is the impact of school feeding schemes on food security? I wanted to understand if a link between school feeding and food security existed and (if so) how the elements interacted. Secondly, what is the link between education and school feeding schemes? It is reductionist to assume that a natural connection exists between education and feeding simply because feeding occurs in schools. I wanted to assess the nature of the connection (if one indeed existed) in this report. Finally, how do school feeding schemes fit into development? The underlying assumption in this question is that school feeding is developmental which also may be an oversimplification. In this report, I wanted to assess if school feeding was linked to food security and education and if so, are these developmental issues? If they are, how is school feeding actually impacting both food security and education and how are these in turn impacting development?

Three main themes emerge from the questions above: these are food security, education and development. I argue that education and food security are linked in significant ways (which will be discussed in greater detail in this report) and that both of these concerns are sub-features of development. Education is an obvious inclusion because the school

system is the channel used to implement the feeding programme, but it is also arguably where the impact of the scheme on individual children's lives is most noticeable. Staff at schools are able to assist learners to be properly fed and will see the effect proper nutrition has on the child's school attendance and performance as well as his or her general well-being. Food security is a less obvious but equally relevant theme because it is the lack of food security that generates the need for school feeding schemes. Food insecurity is a social issue which plays out in the lives of learners well beyond the classroom and affects the communities in which they live. Thus it is an integral issue in any study of the NSNP. Finally, development as an area of study must be considered. Education and proper nutrition are two strategies that exist to promote development within society and the role that they play in bringing about this goal must be considered.

This study shows us that safety nets such as the NSNP can make a valuable and palpable contribution in the lives of the poor, both adults and children. It also shows us that the development and implementation of the menu used in each school is a laborious but considered process. Yet programmes and projects such as the NSNP are only effective when they are championed and managed properly by those working at the grassroots level. Inadequacy and requests for additional support can easily be lost in the sheer magnitude of the bureaucratic process required to run a programme such as the NSNP and these can override any positive effect the programme may have.

Most research on feeding schemes has looked at individual case studies (located within donor projects or particular socioeconomic groupings) or has evaluated particular programmes but has not stepped back and looked at feeding schemes more broadly. These case studies tend to be programme evaluations and do not look at the broader issues associated with school feeding schemes. While they are helpful in determining international and longitudinal trends, these case studies do not look at the dynamics of decision-making, general problems of implementation, socioeconomic factors which contribute to the need for school feeding schemes and the general impact on learners' lives. Feeding scheme menus is a topic even less represented in the literature. It is widely accepted that feeding schemes are a positive part of children's lives yet little

analysis of what children actually eat (and why one set of meals is preferred over another) has been undertaken which is one of the aims of this report.

As the foundations of feeding schemes, menus offer an interesting focus. The contents of the menu for the NSNP is determined centrally at national level by the national education department (Ms A, 2011) which means that the department must make decisions that take into account the very large scope of the programme since it is implemented across the country. Numerous factors go into the creation and implementation of the menu including health (or nutritional), financial, logistical and political concerns. The nutritional value of the food prescribed by the menu must meet the recommended daily intake of key vitamins and minerals and must promote children's growth. Dieticians and nutritionists must develop a meal plan that offers learners meals that form part of a balanced healthy diet, yet they have to be cognisant of available resources. The budget is a pertinent factor and, since roughly 8.1 million children in over 20 000 schools are fed on an annual budget of R915 million (DBE, 2011) by the NSNP, it is not to be ignored.

Feeding such a large number of children every week day throughout the academic year is a considerable task and the logistics behind the programme are complex and multi-levelled. Directives are passed down from the national department to each provincial education department, and then again to individual districts within each province. Government officials at each level are responsible for ensuring that the roll-out occurs efficiently and for monitoring the implementation in schools that fall within their jurisdiction. Schools apply to their district office to be part of the NSNP. Once an evaluation of the school has been carried out, successful schools are enrolled and supplied with the necessary documentation and equipment. Individual schools run a kitchen which serves a cooked meal to each learner during the morning every week day. Depending on the province, some schools offer porridge for breakfast before school as well. In addition, schools are expected to run a food garden which supplies fresh fruit and vegetables to the kitchen. Extra produce can be donated to the community or sold to raise funds for the school. The third element of the programme is nutrition education which forms part of the curriculum. Currently nutrition education is minimal but plans

to boost this are in place. Individual schools are responsible for the successful running of the kitchen as well as stock control, health and safety concerns, and the food garden.

Determining which children and/or schools will be included in the programme and to what extent is a point those in power must negotiate carefully. The NSNP is rolled out in Quintile 1 to 3 schools which serve the poorest communities in society. Children attending Quintile 1 schools are considered the poorest of the poor and their school fees as well as other related expenses (such as the NSNP) are wholly subsidised by the government. Several other concerns must be borne in mind as well, such as culture, religion and norms. Cultural awareness and sensitivity must be observed when creating and implementing the menu since there is no point in prescribing meals for children if the food they are served violates cultural conventions.

This study explores, at the national level, who determines the menu and what are the factors that are considered during the decision-making process. I have investigated, at both provincial and district level, what role various stakeholders play in the process, what their individual responsibilities are, and the challenges they face. Finally, at the level of the school, I have researched the experience of the programme amongst four main groups: school management, staff, the learners and those responsible for preparing the meals. In addition, I have looked at the way in which the NSNP fits into the school day and how it is run. As the primary beneficiaries of the scheme, it was crucial to explore learners' own experience of the programme and its impact on their lives – if at all.

The NSNP feeds 60% of South African children on a daily basis yet it is not widely known beyond the communities that it feeds. Over and above the feeding of hungry children, it is important to understand the inner working and motivation behind the programme to understand the role it plays in promoting social development and education. This study seeks to shed light on the topic.

In the next chapter, a review of relevant literature concerning feeding schemes is presented. This is in addition to discussions on education and food security and their

roles as sub-themes of development. This is followed by a chapter that describes the methodology used in the study and the ethical considerations made prior to and during the data-collection phase. The subsequent three chapters detail the empirical findings of the study. Chapter 4 investigates the programme as a directive from DBE which is binding and, as a result, a double-edged sword. Chapter 5 looks at how the NSNP empowers and educates those who are involved in it by providing nutrition, employment, skills and nutrition education. The last empirical chapter investigates how the NSNP provides support to impoverished communities. The final chapter offers concluding remarks on the study.

Figure 1
Learners are surprisingly calm and well-behaved during lunchtime at School X

Figure 2
The view from inside the main food garden at School X

Chapter 2

Literature Review

At the heart of development is the desire for social change. Several different approaches to development have been employed across the world in the past – with varying degrees of success – yet development remains elusive particularly in Africa. Theorists have proposed several reasons and this chapter will consider several of these reasons in relation to this report.

Development

This study looks at the way in which feeding children within the school environment impacts them and their communities. The argument is that school feeding promotes the attainment of educational goals as well as improvement in food security due to exposure to regular, nutritious meals and assistance with out-of-school nutrition needs in the form of take-home rations and products from the food garden. The interplay between school feeding, education and food security is complex and fluid. The way in which they are intertwined is not simple to trace and the relationship is mutually inclusive. The areas mentioned (school feeding, education and food security) contribute towards development which is an equally complex and nuanced concept. Most conceptions of development are based in economics and neglect the people who are part of the development process. However, one theoretical conception does seek to address the human face of development and it is termed the capabilities approach.

Conceived by Amartya Sen in the 1980s, it was a response to the prevalent yet narrow view of development primarily in economic terms. Previously, development was assessed by economists in terms of utilities, incomes and wealth, with little regard for the people involved and their lived experience. The capabilities approach questions the relationship between economic growth and human development, asserting that these are not necessarily the same. Sen's focus is on individual agency (and the effect this has on

societies and their development) and he suggests that the focus of development should be on human freedoms rather than the means to freedoms. For Sen, freedoms are interconnected and their expansion generates free and sustainable agency on the part of citizens, which ultimately leads to development and so the "enhancement of human freedom is both the main object and the primary means of development" (1999: 53). Thus, there is a shift towards a comprehensive human-centred development approach which addresses the economic but finds place for the social and political as well.

The substantive freedoms that Sen outlines include political freedoms, economic freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security (1999: 10). They are "elementary capabilities like being able to avoid such deprivations as starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality, as well as the freedoms that are associated with being literate and numerate, enjoying political participation and uncensored speech and so on" (1999: 36). Sources of unfreedoms include poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities, intolerance as well as over-activity of repressive states (1999: 3). For Sen then, freedoms are not only the fundamentals of human life, but also the measures against which the quality of existence can be assessed.

It is clear that food security and education are prominent substantive freedoms. Education in particular is a significant part of the capabilities approach since it is a crucial way of developing society by providing grounds for other freedoms to flourish. The greater the number of freedoms that are able to flourish, the more likely it is for a society to develop and advance. According to the World Bank (2011), better education leads to improved health and nutrition, increased productivity and earnings, a reduction in inequality for the individual which (for society) drives competition, reduces poverty, contributes to democratisation, promotes peace and stability and promotes concern for the environment. For this reason, education is a significant part of development and is a central factor in my research.

Education

The recipients of school feeding schemes are (almost invariably) poor individuals who are caught up in poverty and for whom development (economic and social) is critical in order to experience a better life. Education is a necessary component of school-administered feeding schemes for two reasons. The first relates to the impact feeding schemes have on children's school performance and achievement. The second is education from a developmental, national point of view.

Societies do not exist in isolation and so feeding schemes form part of a larger social context, which in South Africa is coloured by other social pressures such as poverty, HIV/Aids, unemployment and even the legacy of the country's political history. As these can also be classified as developmental issues, there is significant overlap and common ground between the two areas. However, the issue of individual children's school performance and achievement is academic in nature whereas education across the population is developmental in nature.

Education, as it relates to development, can be divided into a few broad areas. Gender disparity is one such area and one that is widely debated in the literature and documentation surrounding donor and civil society advocacy (see Ainsworth et al, 1996; Johnston, 2011; Kallman, 2005; Schultz, 2002). There are numerous reasons for this which I address below. Also within education is health which is linked to gender concerns through the mother. Education policy is another area of education related to development. It extends from national policy on spending, enrolments and the link between education and labour through to international policy such as the Millennium Development Goals. The divide between rural and urban education is another broad category.

Gender is a hotly debated and critical part of education because of its far-reaching consequences. Schultz (2002), amongst others, suggests that educating women promotes better health and schooling for their children and encourages the broadening of the tax base. These factors promote national development in multiple ways.

Economic development is improved by an increase in employment rates amongst women and, because educated women want children who have the opportunity to become better educated than their mothers, a subsequent increase in employment rates is found in the following generation. Schultz adds that "[c]ountries that have equalized their educational achievements for men and women in the last several decades have on average grown faster" (2002: 219-220). Thus it can be concluded that education is good for development. Johnston (2011) adds an important caveat however: "Increased education will only facilitate rapid growth where investment was also made in job creation" (p. 112).

But, research has also shown that higher levels of education result in fewer births. According to Ainsworth et al, there is a "negative correlation between female schooling and cumulative fertility ... in both urban and rural areas" (1996: 117). This means that the more schooling a woman has had, the fewer children she is likely to have and the healthier her children will be. Similarly, "[f]emale schooling has also been found to greatly raise the likelihood of contraceptive use, even among women with primary schooling only" (ibid). Women who are better educated want fewer children, are able to negotiate fertility with their partners and plan their families better. Mukudi confirms this by indicating that better access to education delays high fertility rates, encourages better birth spacing, and provides opportunities which enhance children's capacity for decision-making, particularly related to income and spending (2003: 254).

It makes sense developmentally, then, for governments to spend money investing in education. Yet where and how national education budgets should be spent is equally complex. Several competing views exist in the available literature regarding the priority of primary (or basic) education over secondary education and vice versa. The focus currently lies with primary education because of its inclusion in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). (Universal basic education for all (boys and girls) is one of the MDGs which are the six major international development goals set down by the UN in 2000 for countries to achieve by 2015.) Psacharopoulos (1994) performed a comprehensive study of global rates of return to education and the findings indicate that basic education is the primary investment priority in developing countries. The

investment pays off within the private and social spheres because better education allows people to get better jobs.

In 2002, Psacharopoulos, along with Patrinos, updated the study and found that "women receive higher returns to their schooling investments ... But the returns to primary education are much higher for men (20 percent) than for women (13 percent). Women, however, experience higher returns to secondary education (18 versus 14 percent)" (p. 2). These results are relevant because they reflect trends in education in South Africa and reveal that challenges facing developing countries in general are the problems South Africa also faces. The focus in education policy on primary schooling (particularly in Africa) to the disadvantage of secondary schooling is out of sync with the findings. Thus it seems counterintuitive that the MDGs encourage policy which favours spending on primary education, particularly if gender equality is promoted simultaneously.

Several authors highlight the discrepancy. Berthélemy suggests that "sub-Saharan Africa has, on average, school policies unfavourable to primary education, and biased in favour of secondary education" (2004: 21). Johnston concludes, "if we want to ensure the positive individual benefits of education in terms of higher incomes or better household health, then ways need to be found to encourage poor children to enter and remain in secondary school" (2011: 109). Indeed, it is in the state's interest to keep children in school. It has been reported that each extra year of schooling that is completed has enormous benefit for national growth. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos indicate that the average rate of return to another year of schooling is 10 percent and that the highest returns are recorded for low and middle-income countries" (2002: 1-2).

It seems judicious to keep children in school for as long as possible due to the significant rate of return for each additional year. Yet lapsed attendance and dropout is common, especially amongst girls. In some cases, sub-Saharan African girls have only between two and six years of schooling in total (Ainsworth et al, 1996). Johnston argues that the focus in the MDGs on improving enrolment rates in schools with little consideration for the number of children who complete primary schooling is self-defeatist. The returns and health benefits of supporting girls (until they complete

primary schooling) described in the literature are only concretised during the final two years of primary schooling, thus it is imperative that girls complete primary schooling uninterrupted. Any barriers to completion (such as lack of funding, giving preference to boys and keeping girls at home for labour purposes) must be removed in order for girls to be successful. Johnston suggests that the "wealth and gender barriers to education must be dealt with if a universal primary education agenda is to be truly successful" (2011: 105).

Another argument against the contemporary bias towards primary education lies with the unreliability of data regarding rates of return to education. Bennell (1996), refuting Psacharopoulos' study on rates of return to education, posits that "[t]hree basic methodological weaknesses undermine the credibility of most of the [rates of return to education] in the 18 country studies under review – sample selection, omitted variables, and reliance on cross-sectional data" (p. 188). Much of the data used by Psacharopoulos to complete his studies was obtained from reports provided by local governments. The data are unreliable and, in some cases, decades old. Bennell also reports that "it is certainly not the case that the [rates of return] to primary education is consistently higher than either secondary or higher education. Primary education may indeed deserve top priority but it is clear from the foregoing discussion that aggregate [rates of return to education] should no longer be relied upon in supporting policy recommendations in the education sector" (p. 195). Wariness when it comes to basing judgements on unreliable data is found elsewhere too. Bils et al indicate that "the impact of schooling on growth probably explains less than one-third of the empirical cross-country [growth] relationship, and likely much less than one-third" (2000: 1160). Thus, the relationship between schooling, labour and economic growth is not clear.

Just providing basic education does not solve everything – the quality of the education provided makes a difference. Government must allocate spending carefully. Providing and improving infrastructure is important but it is equally important to invest in the staff employed in the education system as well as to invest in external needs such as scholar transport and school feeding. Filmer & Pritchett suggest that "the issues of access to good-quality schooling and of maintaining household demand for education are as

important as the number of schools" (1999: 86). In fact, governments may stretch themselves so thinly that negative outcomes are produced. Johnston reports on sub-Saharan schools that "fee abolition in some cases substantially worsened educational quality, leading to reduced incentives to remain in school" especially in Malawi "where substantial increases in enrolment led to soaring pupil-teacher ratios and high percentages of unqualified teachers" (2011: 104).

These are problems experienced in South Africa too. Gustafsson and Mabogoane (2010) demonstrate that there have been improvements in the equity of public spending on education in South Africa since democratisation, but they also indicate that the quality of education provided is inequitably distributed across the country. The quality of education provided is also well below anticipated levels, given the country's level of development and funding. South Africa has one of the highest budgets for education in Africa – a budget of R207-billion for 2012/13 (SouthAfrica.info, 2012) – yet it ranks amongst the lowest in the world on international assessments of basic literacy and numeracy amongst primary school learners. South Africa is rated 127th out of 142 countries in terms of the quality of primary education (Eighty20, 2012 cited in Global Competitiveness Report 2011/12). It is counterintuitive that an increase in spending produces no improvement in academic performance and in some cases worsens results. This indicates that regardless of the amount of funding available, the way in which it is spent is key – a balance that has not yet been struck in South Africa.

Education is made up of many facets amongst which are the academic, extra-curricular, administrative and social aspects. If governments are willing to put money behind better schooling into all the facets that constitute schooling, the question must be asked: does school feeding really improve children's school attendance and performance? In the available literature accessed for this study, the efficacy of these schemes is uncertain, a point I will return to in the analysis of the case study schools. Not much scholarly literature has been published in this area and what has been done is mainly in the form of evaluations and reports. No analytical work exists which addresses feeding schemes in relation to the larger question of development. What is clear, however, is that the efficacy of school feeding schemes is unpredictable.

(School) feeding schemes

Feeding schemes administrated in schools generally take one of three forms (see Levinger, 1986). The first is one main meal at school during school hours. This meal ensures that children are able to concentrate in class and perform at their best. The second is take-home rations. Generally, learners are given a package of food to take home to their families if they attain a certain percentage of attendance across a term or year. This system attempts to improve attendance rates which guards against irregular attendance and dropouts. It also motivates parents to send their children to school regularly which improves the child's chances of receiving some education. The final form is a combination of school feeding and take-home rations. This system is optimal since it takes care of short-term nutritional needs as well as long-term and community needs.

An evaluation of feeding schemes in four districts in Laos reveals that the impact of school feeding on school participation and nutritional status is unclear (Buttenheim et al, 2011). The data provide weak evidence for the impact of the feeding scheme on children's school enrolment status. Similarly, nutritional analyses of the data fail to indicate a positive effect of the feeding schemes on children's nutritional status. Regarded in isolation, these findings suggest that school feeding schemes are not worth investing in. These conclusions are refuted in Buhl (2010: 3) who suggests that "the literature demonstrates that providing meals at school can have a significant impact on nutritional status and educational outcomes in children." She cites studies from Jamaica, Kenya, Bangladesh, the Philippines and Uganda as evidence.

Adding further complexity to the debate, Kazianga et al indicate through randomised trials that, after one academic year, the interventions made through a school feeding scheme in Burkina Faso caused attendance to drop – opposite to the intended outcome. Several reasons for this were given, including dropout to move to another geographic area or to find work. The results suggest that the efficacy of school feeding schemes is unpredictable. The situation is similar in South Africa generally and in the schools that

form part of this report in particular. It is difficult to separate out the various interlinked elements of children's lives in order to isolate the benefits of the NSNP.

Kazianga et al indicate that the scheme does not necessarily improve the lives of those it is intended to help but does have unanticipated positive outcomes such as improved nutrition of younger siblings as a result of take-home rations. The difficulty is in measuring the impact of the positive effects. The effects may be so minimal as to seem insignificant yet they produce considerable differences in the lives of the children. For example, the nutritional benefit of the feeding scheme may be minimal but the thought that a warm and tasty meal awaits them may be what keeps at-risk learners in the classroom.

One aspect of school feeding schemes that has not been explicitly investigated is menus, particularly the way in which they are created, implemented and experienced. Food security is a critical and highly influential factor in the creation of menus for school feeding schemes, particularly feeding schemes implemented in schools based in very poor communities. Food insecurity in these communities will result in nutritional deficits in the children's diets as well as malnutrition because three decent meals a day are a rarity.

The menu must be designed to provide a healthy balanced meal that is tasty and visually appealing, all at an affordable price. This is not a simple task. The food on the menu must address the learners' nutritional needs for their age and growth levels. It also must be affordable enough for the government to provide adequate funding and to be able to sustain that funding. Roll-out of the food stuffs prescribed by the menu presents a challenge to those involved with the logistics of the feeding scheme. The menu also presents a challenge to the food handlers as it requires them to prepare the same food stuff in a variety of ways to ensure that the meals are interesting. This requires the development of a greater range of skills on their part. It also requires them to be aware of meal combinations and the nutritional benefits (in terms of vitamins and minerals) that each provides. School feeding schemes require a large number of resources to

operate successfully and governments must consider whether the investment is worth making in light of the findings on rates of return to education.

I would argue, in line with Sen, that school feeding is inherently worth the investment because of the positive benefits it has. As my research shows, the attitude of the children at School X towards school and the food is good which is evident in their positive reaction to questions about the food they receive. Another indication is the improvement in the behaviour of learners since regular feeding began. Proper nutrition through appealing meals improves general well-being and promotes the freedoms that Sen advocates.

It is interesting to note that many of the problems experienced by the NSNP are not unique to South Africa. India, for example, shares several common issues. Children in areas used mainly for agriculture are affected by the vagaries of the climate. As Singh indicates, "children in drought-stricken areas see a decline in nutritional intake impacting their health negatively, but the Midday Meals Scheme [instituted in 2001] in these situations acts as a security net compensating for this decline in food availability" (2008: 23). The NSNP acts as a safety net for children negatively affected by food insecurity. Moreover, "[t]eachers and parents indicate that attendance of children is much better and that the cooked meal is a draw" and that "[i]t has the potential to significantly improve the attentiveness of children who come from the 7.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. shift. The majority of these are girls" (De et al, 2005: 18). The improvement in child health and academic attainment evident in India occurs in South Africa too.

Elsewhere, in developed countries such as the United States and Great Britain, school feeding has long been a part of the education system. The prominent problem facing these nations is obesity. Decades of allowing increasingly unhealthy products onto their menus have contributed to national obesity levels and exceptionally poor eating habits in these countries. In recent years, school food has resurfaced as a political issue and was made part of popular consciousness by several key figures such as celebrity chefs. In the US, celebrity chef and philanthropist Alice Waters is credited as the mother of the organic food movement and the creator of the Edible Schoolyard, a project started in

1998 and based at the Martin Luther King Jnr Middle School in Berkeley, California. The project was co-founded by Waters with the aim to enrich the curriculum and lives of the children at the school. She wanted food to become a natural part of their lives and for children to understand where food comes from and how it impacts their lives. The model has been used across the world as a successful way of creating and managing urban food gardens.

Similarly, Jamie Oliver's popular television series, *Jamie's School Dinners*, drew considerable attention when it was first aired in the UK in 2005. The chef pointed out through the programme that the British government was failing youth by serving meals in schools with very little nutrition and by not encouraging better eating through food education. He subsequently began the Feed Me Better campaign which called for better food to be served in British schools. Many people credit Oliver with single-handedly changing Britain's attitude to school food, yet this is not wholly the case. Morgan (2006) reports that Oliver's television show and campaign was part of a shift which began with the report on Scottish school meals entitled *Hungry for Success* that was published in 1995. Subsequent reports and policy reform in England (particularly through the report entitled *Turning the Tables*) and Wales in 2005 and 2006 respectively added to the transformation in thinking about school food.

Morgan delineates three eras of school food reform in the UK: the welfare era (after the Second World War into the 1970s), the neoliberal era (during the 1980s and 1990s) and the emerging ecological era which spans the 2000s to the present. He suggests that school feeding during the welfare era took place in order to make up for the ravages of the world wars. As welfare states were replaced with governments enamoured with neoliberal policies, public spending reduced. Morgan posits that, "[i]n its desire to make short-term public expenditure savings, [the British government] actually contributed to the problem of unhealthy eating, a problem which is today costing the public purse many times what was saved by trimming the school meals budget" (2006: 381). It is not even advisable to leave the health of children in the hands of their parents. In the UK, "[g]iven the negative publicity about the standards of school dinners, parents may believe that providing a packed lunch is a healthier alternative … The actual contents of

packed lunches have been under less scrutiny than those of school dinners, but a recent survey of 9-11-year olds suggests that packed lunches rarely conform to these [nutritional] guidelines" (Jefferson and Cowbrough, 2004, cited in Rogers et al, 2007: 857).

The seachange experienced in the early 2000s regarding school food called into question not only the nutritional value of food served in schools but the responsibility governments have to teach people to be healthy, to show them how and to be transparent in the way they go about it. This spirit defines the ecological era. Morgan adds, "[s]ince it radically eschews the consumerist values of the neoliberal era, which extolled choice and profit as ends in themselves in school canteens, the ecological era signals the resurgence of the values of the public domain. The values that inform the new school food reform are public health and social justice" (2006: 386). The lessons learned in developing countries send a powerful message to the creators and administrators of the NSNP. If the programme is allowed to become lax due to social pressure for enjoyable food over nutritious food, and if food gardens and nutrition education are sidelined, the outlook for the health of the next generation is disasterous.

The state's relationship to citizens, then, is paramount. Schools are sites of learning but they are also places where the state meets society and the education system is intended to pass on a body of knowledge and socialise children into productive citizens. The provision of education is the state's way of fulfilling this task but it is also the place in which the state becomes aware of the needs of the communities it serves. The dynamics of society affect what occurs in the classroom as well as learners' ability to learn. The school must be aware of and address what is happening in learners' lives if it is to carry through the task of educating children successfully. One of the areas of social life that the state becomes involved in is the health of learners and nutrition makes up an important part of this provision. Food security is an equally significant component of nutrition.

Figure 3
School X's kitchen and bakery is hygienic and well-maintained

Figure 4
The storeroom at School X contains products delivered by government, as well as supplies bought with funding from the international donor

Food security

Household food security is defined as "access by all households at all times to adequate safe and nutritious food for a healthy and productive life" (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001: 2, based on the definition created during the World Food Summit of 1996). Food security is made up of three aspects: food availability, food access and food use (WHO). Food use refers to the appropriate use of food based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care in addition to adequate water and sanitation. This indicates that feeding schemes fall within the realm of food security and therefore are an important part of this aspect of development. Children must be adequately fed at home to be healthy and able to learn and achieve at school. This is not always the case, hence the need for feeding schemes in schools.

Bonti-Ankomah (2001) offers some reasons why food security is a concern in South Africa. He indicates that unemployment and household incomes in South Africa remain low while food prices rise. He posits that food expenditure in many households is far below the expenditure required to meet recommended dietary allowances. This makes people vulnerable and can stunt childhood growth, particularly in large rural households. According to Bonti-Ankomah, feeding schemes are helpful in combating

malnutrition and disease but historically have not reached their targets and have underspent. He suggests that supplemental income needs to be made available to people via state social security and/or that effective nutrition programmes need to be implemented. Bonti-Ankomah also posits that these are short-term solutions and suggests the provision of resources for household food production (especially in rural areas) is advisable as a long-term strategy.

Yet, food production and food security in general is fraught with complexities itself. Critics argue that food security is a narrow understanding of the global food crisis and that it denies the need for sustainability in terms of food production. The favoured term is "food sovereignty" which

> is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations (Angus, 2009: 53, cited in Cock, 2010: 12).

Food security incorporates much deeper issues to do with land rights and ownership, smallholder farming, capital and skills. Inequalities in food production and distribution have contributed to the ecological and food crises facing the planet currently. It has been suggested that the ecological crisis, of which food security plays a part, is a capitalist crisis since capitalism has created the food chain and the corporations that place profits before people and the planet (Wallis, 2010: 32 as cited in Cock, 2010: 1).

In corroboration, Leahy asserts that,

> [w]hat we are doing is unsustainable because the environmental damage we are causing reduces the productivity of the land for future agriculture uses, making it harder and harder for us to live well. Further, what we are doing is drastically reducing the opportunities for other forms of life to flourish on our planet ... These problems come about as the result of our relationships with each other – relationships of class, economy, work, and power (1999: 35).

Gender, as in education, is an important factor in terms of food security. Pottier (1999) reports, from ethnographies performed in Bwisha (Congo) and Gola (Sierra Leone), that

food provisioning should focus not only on food production and consumption, but on male economic uncertainty and impoverishment as well. This is because men feel threatened by their wives' growing economic independence which leads them to hang on to patriarchal values and forms of authority that are part of their past economic power. This may lead to novel forms of exploitation. Donors and organisations applaud women's empowerment and growing economic independence yet in reality this freedom and power may be detrimental. Ironically, Pottier reports, despite all the investments women make to improve their lives, they rarely manage to improve their and their households' economic security because they are caught up in gender-segregated economic activity. These and other food security-related concerns are an integral part of school feeding schemes.

Another social concern which affects both food security and education is HIV. The detrimental impact of HIV/Aids on communities is pervasive and widely known (Coombe, 2002; Foster, 2005; Murphy, 2008). The disease affects families in numerous ways. It affects parents' abilities to hold steady employment and to care adequately for their children. In the case of death, grandparents (many of whom are retired or unemployed and therefore living on limited means) take over the care of young children. This situation is not ideal because grandparents may not live long enough to support children until they are old enough to care for themselves. In even more regrettable cases, children have to care for themselves because no adults are available to care for them. Child-headed households suffer from poor nutrition (due to a lack of funds and lack of nutrition education) which affects their ability to perform in school. They are already disadvantaged because they do not have the support system they require to perform well in school. Thus, children orphaned by Aids are twice disadvantaged. (See Mangoma et al, 2008 for research from Kenya on HIV/Aids and schooling.) Children caught in the rural/urban divide are also disadvantaged. A system of institutionalised circular migration exists in South Africa in which parents from rural areas migrate on a regular basis to jobs in urban areas. (See Hunter, 2010 and Marks, 2002 for more on this.) These parents leave behind children in the care of grandparents or extended family members. While parents send money home to support their families, their emotional and physical support is non-existent and this adversely affects learners.

It is evident from this literature review that in order for development to occur, human freedom must be addressed. Two important substantive freedoms are education and food security, both of which are addressed within the school context through feeding schemes. The nutritional levels of school-going learners may not be optimal due to food insecurity and the problems associated with it. Feeding schemes in schools address food insecurity by feeding learners on a daily basis as well as providing learners with skills to assist them with food security in the future.

Figure 5
The dining hall at School Y is comfortable but not as well-maintained as the hall at School X

Figure 6
The view of one of the food gardens at School Y (beside the tree) and its surrounds

Figure 7
Up close, some disrepair inside the dining hall at School Y is evident

Chapter 3

Methodology

Case and sample selection

A large number and wide range of people from very different backgrounds are affected by and involved in the NSNP and I wanted to gain insights from as many different voices as possible in order to obtain a holistic perspective on the programme. The sample I chose included government officials (at all three levels of government), school management, teachers, cooks and learners. The sampling method used for this study was purposive sampling. Officials at the national and provincial levels of government have an overarching view of the programme which is at odds with the day-to-day struggles of district officials and those actually implementing the programme in schools. This provides for an interesting contrast and points to ways in which the programme could function better. These points are elucidated in more depth later in this report.

School X is widely regarded as a model school in terms of its implementation and management of the NSNP. It is situated in Katlehong, an urban informal settlement south of Johannesburg. The initial plan during the proposal stage of the research report was to locate the study in a school in Vosloorus township on Gauteng's East Rand. I later discovered that Vosloorus forms part of a larger municipal administrative area, Ekurhuleni South District, which encompasses Boksburg, Germiston, Katlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus and Alberton. A subsequent interview with a senior official (Ms A) at the Ekurhuleni South District office shed light on School X and its status as a flagship school in terms of the NSNP. I decided at this point to make School X my case study. Later, School Y was added as another case study school.

The socioeconomic context of the school was an important initial consideration. Schools in South Africa are categorised into quintiles which are based on socioeconomic factors. There are five quintiles: quintile 1 is the most disadvantaged and

quintile 5 is the most advantaged. Quintile 1 schools are non-fee paying schools and a sliding scale is used up to quintile 5 which is completely unsubsidised. One of the long-standing concerns surrounding the NSNP is the issue of targeting and how it is determined. Prior to the current NSNP format, schools would identify needy learners and target only these learners which resulted in alienation and stigmatisation (Kallman, 2005: 13-14). In the current framework, all children are fed in quintile 1 to 3 schools. However, one official indicated that targeting continues to be problematic and she foresees the recategorisation of schools into fee-paying and non-fee paying schools. This will allow for a greater number of learners to be fed (Ms W, 2011).

School X is both typical and unique in relation to other township schools in terms of socioeconomic context. It is similar in that the community it serves is extremely poor and unemployment rates are high. It receives minimal resources from government and existing infrastructure is inadequate to deal with the high number of learners that are enrolled every year. Yet the school is unique because of what the principal and staff have done with the limited resources they have. For example, school buildings have been adapted and renovated to accommodate more learners as it is difficult to concentrate when different grades are being taught in the same classroom, as is often the case in under-resourced schools. Two fairly large classrooms were each split into two classrooms to create space for additional classes. And, unlike other schools in the area, School X has a dining hall. The principal devoted many months to moving the building plans for the dining hall through all the required bureaucratic steps. She also collected funds to purchase jungle gyms for the preschool learners and has made special effort to ensure that the school is aesthetically pleasing by painting colourful character murals on classroom walls and planting decorative plants.

After initial participant observation sessions at the school, it became clear that for it to be effective and contextualised, the study required a second school with similar infrastructure and which had been exposed to the same opportunities yet had managed the programme poorly. I subsequently became aware of School Y, which is approximately one kilometre away from School X and which serves an even more socioeconomically disadvantaged community than its neighbour. School Y is set in the

midst of shack housing. It is common to find people sitting in front of their shacks or walking their small children around to small spaza shops nearby. I witnessed numerous people milling around at various times of the day, indicating a high unemployment level in the area. The school is situated fairly close to a taxi rank which is noisy and busy. The school gate is not strictly monitored and, on one occasion that I visited, the gate was not locked at all. Poor security makes it easy for learners to wander off the school property and into the streets as well as for unwelcome people to enter the school grounds. A safe, protected environment where children feel free to focus on learning is an important aspect of a sound education system. This is not always the case at School Y. The buildings at School Y are not as well maintained as those at School X, and it is common to see broken window panes and litter scattered around the property. The only part of the grounds that is tended is the food gardens. There are several garden patches that contain numerous different crops, which are growing well. The rest of the school is characterised by painted prefabricated buildings and converted ship containers surrounded predominantly by bare and dusty earth with a few concreted areas. No decorative plants can be seen.

The value of selecting these two schools lies in their contrast. Several elements are common to both schools, yet it is their different approaches that prove crucial to the success of the implementation of the NSNP and the general effective functioning of the education institution. Such a comparison will isolate and amplify the crucial elements needed to make a success of the feeding scheme, thereby assisting other schools (as well as administrators of the programme) to improve its implementation.

Since the menu is determined at national and provincial levels before being rolled out to schools via the provincial and district offices, I collected my data from the national, provincial and district offices. The effective implementation of the programme is heavily influenced by school management but it must work within the constraints provided by DBE. I wanted to understand how each level of government impacts on the others and they way in which they interact.

Data collection techniques

Two main methods were used in this study to obtain data: in-depth interviews and participant observation. I chose qualitative research methods because they are more suitable to the nature of the data I wanted to elicit from this study than quantitative research. As Strauss and Corbin suggest, "[q]ualitative methods can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is known" (1990, 19). Interviews "give us access to the observations of others ... We can learn also, through interviewing, about people's interior experiences. We can learn what people perceived and how they interpreted their perceptions" (Weiss, 1995, 1). This is exactly the process that occurred in my research, in which I attempted to uncover and account for people's observations and experiences with the feeding scheme.

It is important to recognise that interviews do have some drawbacks though. I cannot tell clearly from the 24 interviews conducted if the interviewees are representative of the participants' personal experiences of the NSNP, whether they form part of broader national trends, or if they are experiences unique to a particular school's implementation of the programme. The lack of quantitative data has also prevented me from obtaining an understanding of the broader process of implementing school feeding schemes, as a representative sample of South African schools on the programme is beyond the scope of this report. Thus the findings of this report should not be interpreted as a firm trend or pattern, but merely as observations of two participating schools. What can be extrapolated is the comparison between the two schools and what about their infrastructure, implementation and management of the programme affects the roll-out of the NSNP.

In-depth interviews

I performed a total of 24 interviews between March and October 2011. At the national, provincial and district levels, I conducted interviews with government officials and employees, as well as relevant corporate, non-governmental and/or community organisations. The government officials and employees included qualified dieticians

who advise on the menus, employees involved in the provincial roll-out and management of the programme, and officials involved directly in the implementation of the programme, such as the NSNP coordinator and interns for the district. The questions I asked at this level explored the programme from a macro level. I used these interviews to glean information about the financial and logistical issues involved in the programme as well as the processes of implementation and monitoring which will be discussed in the analysis of the data.

At the school level, I interviewed principals, teachers, food handlers/parents and learners. These interviews explored the everyday challenges facing those who make the programme work and those who are on the receiving end of the meals. The questions focussed on the school and the role the NSNP plays in the school, the children's reaction to the meals as well as the impact the programme has on the community.

Participant observation

I also performed participant observation at the schools, particularly at School X. According to Burawoy, participant observation "aims for the subjective interpretation of social situations or the foundations of human interaction" (2000: 1). I used the observation sessions to generate my own perspective on the NSNP and developed a subjective view of the process. This involved observing the way in which the food handlers prepare and serve the food as well as children's experience of eating the meals. This is an important research method as it gives an indication of the dynamics of the programme and allowed me to observe and analyse all the factors involved in making the programme work. It also allowed me to observe the children's experience of the food which is crucial in understanding the effectiveness of the programme. As with the interviews, participant observation is subjective and specific to the experience at a particular school. It is impossible to draw conclusions about the entire NSNP from these observation sessions but I have become aware of issues and concerns that may well be systemic. Further research would shed more light on how systemic these issues really are, if at all.

The first observation session took place in late August 2011. Upon arrival, I immediately found that School X was very neat and calm. Some children were in class and others seemed to be having break. I noticed a gardener raking one of the gardens. I was met by the principal who was warm and friendly but clearly had a no-nonsense attitude. On the way to her office, I noticed lots of colourful and well-maintained posters on the walls, advertising school events and health and safety messages. Beautiful black and white damask curtains adorned the reception area where two women sat as well as a man who was working on a computer. The principal spoke sternly to them (I think about making noise) and they scattered. I was surprised to see a flat screen computer monitor on the principal's desk (along with various other papers) since the school is an impoverished area and expensive equipment such as this is not common. Numerous cabinets behind my seat were full of trophies, thank-you cards and invitations to social events. Files – neatly covered in brightly coloured paper and carefully labelled – were stored in the large glass cabinet behind me.

I began by asking general questions about the feeding scheme; when it happens and who is involved. The principal reiterated during her answers that the school is poor and under-resourced, yet she budgets carefully and spends money sensibly to improve the school facilities as much as possible. After the interview, the principal took me on a tour of the school. She showed me the dining hall and kitchen, which were sponsored by an international donor. The long, rectangular building has small windows close to the roof and the kitchen is situated at one end. The dining hall houses long rows of slate-grey aluminium tables and black plastic chairs for the children to sit on, as well as a few tables at the front of the room (close to the kitchen) for serving. Large plastic containers and crates are used to serve food: one for each food product. (See Figure 1 on page 13 for a visual representation of the dining hall.) During the meals, learners are unusually quiet and the teachers and cooks pace the aisles checking up on them, directing cleaning operations and giving instructions. To receive their meals, the children line up diligently in front of the serving tables, holding brightly coloured plastic plates. Other children bring their plates to the front of the dining hall, where two large black plastic containers are placed. One is for rubbish while the used plates are stacked in the other container. The walls are bare except for a few posters indicating various types of vegetables,

hygiene tips, the cooks' schedule, photographs of celebrities and dignitaries who have visited the dining hall, kitchen rules as well as the learners' rules. A big plastic cheque awarded by the DBE to the school in the previous year is placed up against a wall in a corner. It is for R60 000 and acknowledges School X as the best school in the NSNP that year.

The kitchen is a basic but spacious and serviceable area. (Figures 3 and 4 on page 26 give an idea of the layout of the kitchen and storage area.) An island in the middle contains countertop workspace while, on one side of the room, cooks work at the four hobs of the stoves and the fridge, or at the wash basins on the opposite side. Equipment is stored in front of the third wall, including mixers for the bakery as well as a machine to cut bread (which looks as if it has never been used). The staff are dressed in red t-shirts and black trousers or skirts. They wear aprons and hair nets. There is also a storeroom within the kitchen area. Large metal shelves hold numerous bags of rice, pap, samp, pilchards, cooking oil and matches, as well as vegetables such as carrots. The storeroom also contains a domestic-sized chest freezer and extra cooking equipment.

Outside the dining hall and close to the perimeter wall is a shack house inhabited by one of the staff members who works as a gardener and general handyman. He previously had no permanent place to stay so the school allowed him to build a shack on the premises. His presence has provided protection for the school from criminals and vandals and has prevented theft of school property. Next to the shack is one of the gardens. It is a large steel half-round structure covered in green netting. (See Figure 2 on page 13 and Figure 14 on page 73 for images of the food garden.) Crops are neatly demarcated into patches with furrows between the rows. Various plants such as cabbage, spinach and bush beans grow robustly. The school's other garden is located in the corner of the property, close to the entrance. (Figure 15 on page 73 shows this garden.) A large green water tanker lies to one side of the garden and serves as an irrigation system. Learners play close to it but do not enter the garden itself.

The school contains several blocks of classrooms, one of which used to be the old kitchen. The classrooms are beautifully decorated and look well maintained as is

evident in Figure 8 on page 43. The Grade R section of the school has a separate demarcation and its own play area, including a jungle gym. During my participant observation session at the school, it was apparent that teachers and staff have a respectful but open and warm relationship with the principal.

The second observation session took place in early September 2011 and this time I was able to watch as the Intermediate Phase learners were fed. The learners line up in long queues that snake around the open area between the classrooms and the playground and are allowed into the dining hall in set numbers, perhaps ten at a time. When they enter the hall, they walk up to a deep black container that holds the eating utensils. Once they have a knife and fork, they move towards one of the serving areas, either on their left or right. Cooks guide them towards open serving areas and learners queue until they reach the front, where they are given a plate of food. The cooks take a recently cleaned plastic plate from a stack and, using a large flat spoon, serve one spoon of each part of the meal – in this case one spoon of rice, one spoon of pumpkin and one spoon of chicken stew. The cooked food is served from large containers; the rice in white plastic crates and the chicken stew in deep plastic buckets. These are constantly refilled by the cooks who are not on serving duty.

One cook monitors the door and controls the number of learners allowed into the hall as well as the orderliness of the queues. The remaining cooks do the washing up in the kitchen. They are constantly brought dirty plates and utensils which they wash as quickly as possible. The still-wet dishes are taken out to the cooks serving the meals to the next batch of children. Once the learners have received their meals they move to sit at one of the steel tables and, once they have finished eating, place their plate in a deep plastic container and their utensils in a circular black plastic container, both of which are placed in the front of the dining hall, close to the serving area. One of the cooks occasionally bashes the plates against the side of the container to get rid of any food remnants sticking to the plates, before taking a stack through to the kitchen to be washed.

Everything happens very quickly and it seems chaotic yet is orderly. The children are noisy (despite the sign that instructs them to be quiet when they are eating and the close supervision of teachers and cooks) and there are a lot of bumps and near-misses simply because of the number of people trying to do a lot in a small space in very little time. Break time is only about 30 minutes long (due to the number of contact hours required by curriculum) thus the cooks have to serve numerous classes all within the half hour. There are approximately 1 200 learners in the school who range from seven to thirteen years of age. It is a considerable task to feed such a large number of children within an aggregate period of two hours. Yet the cooks efficiently feed all the children and are aware of moving them as quickly and calmly as possible. The children are also surprisingly neat – all that is left is bits of rice on the tables and rice spatters on the ground around the containers used to stack used plates.

Sometimes a little food is left over which is given as second portions to the lucky children who were last to be served. On this day, a tall boy in an older grade was called and given a second plate of food which he emptied onto his plate along with the original serving. This act threatened to cause a stampede so the cooks chased the children away and took the leftovers into the kitchen. The chance of second helpings, and his being chosen over the other children, indicate the desperate need for food and children's ready acceptance of any food they can lay their hands on. It reinforces the need for the programme. Once all the children have left, the cooks on cleaning duty take brooms from the collection of cleaning equipment in a corner of the dining hall and begin sweeping from the back of the room in between and under the tables, moving the tables and chairs around as they go. The other cooks wash up the remaining plates, wipe down the kitchen surfaces and wash the very large steel pots at the tap outside.

The third observation session took place in mid-September. When I arrived on this day, the children were outside for break time and they each had an orange. There were orange peels lying everywhere on the ground and after a while they started throwing the peels at one another with much delight. The first session of feeding – the Foundation Phase – was finishing up and the cooks were preparing for the Intermediate Phase learners. When I went into the kitchen, I saw a queue of learners waiting in line for an

ice-cream cone topped with a small scoop of blue and pink ice cream which they walked away with, happily licking.

I spent some time walking around the school and interacted with the learners. They spoke a little English (more in the older grades) and they were excited but nervous to see me. They were shy and well disciplined around a visitor. They did not ask why I was at the school but were happy to tell me about what their favourite lessons were and the books they liked to read. Eventually I headed back to the dining hall. I observed the cleaning and preparations for the next set of learners. Before letting learners in, the cooks dish up as many plates of food as possible and stack them. As soon as the children are allowed in, they rush towards a table and grab at a plate. This suggests that they are hungry and are in a hurry to get to the food as quickly as possible. It may also be the case that they are aware of the shortage of time due to the pressure placed on them by teachers and the cooks. The children eat quickly, sometimes while they are standing.

The following session took place a week later, this time at the other case study school. I had arranged to do my first interview at School Y but could not do so because the principal was not at school that day. Before I left School Y, I was given a brief tour by a staff member who showed me the school grounds including the dining hall and the gardens. The gardens are far bigger than those at School X and there are more of them but the buildings are not as neat and cared for as School X's. The barren ground around the dining hall is evident in Figure 5 on page 29 and the equally bare interior is represented on page 29 in Figure 7. The gardens are bigger and there are more of them, yet they are hidden from sight and as a result children and staff do not get to enjoy viewing the gardens on a regular basis. Figure 6 on page 29 gives an idea of one of the gardens and the area surrounding the school. Once I left the school I spent some time observing at School X.

A week later I returned to School Y to perform interviews. During one of the interviews a delivery vehicle arrived and I was given the opportunity to see what was being delivered and the processes followed when receiving a delivery. (See Figure 16 on page

85 for an image of the delivery and Figure 9 on page 48 for an image of the storeroom into which the delivery was placed.) I noticed several towers of porridge packets in the storeroom and later found out that the school does not supply breakfast in the mornings even though it should. When I asked about the bags it was confirmed that these were porridge bags but no explanation about why they were stacked there was offered.

However, I was able to see the files in which the school keeps its policy documents, copies of invoices and receipts, copies of district forms and any other relevant information. I reflected that the files were more up to date and aligned with departmental regulations than School X's files. Perhaps this means that the school is more concerned with the appearance of adhering to the programme than actually implementing an effective service. They avoid negative feedback from district officials by ensuring that paperwork is correct yet the daily running of the programme is not as successful as it could be. After this I moved to School X. When I arrived it quickly became clear that the school was having a special day because the learners and staff were dressed up in traditional clothing. I spent time talking to teachers which was frequently punctuated by noise and singing from the assembly taking place outside. This indicated to me that the learners enjoy being part of the community at the school and that diversity and heritage are celebrated.

The significant reason that makes School Y a poor performer revolves around the issue of quality. It is not the case that the school is underresourced and ill-equipped. Indeed, it is quite the opposite. The school was given the same facilities as School X yet it does not utilise what it has to its maximum potential in the way that School X does. For example, the quality of the care for infrastructure is not as good as School X. During an observation session at School Y, I noticed that numerous plastic plates were damaged or broken, yet they were in the stacks awaiting use at break time. The situation was similar with the chairs and tables. This is not the case at School X. In addition, broken windows in the classrooms and litter at School Y indicate neglect. School X is neat, brightly painted and there is evidence of a desire to do as much as possible with what they have. The preschool section has its own jungle gym which stimulates learners and promotes play and learning. It is a source of delight for the children. Decorative plants and helpful

staff also make the environment aesthetically pleasing and welcoming. School Y has barren playing areas that do not have equipment on which children can play. School Y meets learners' basic needs but it does not reach its full potential. They do not serve porridge for breakfast in the morning which would assist learners who have not eaten since lunch the night before. Moreover, the principal is often absent from work which means that he is absent from the necessary oversight and running of the school programmes. When I probed the reason for the principal's absence during time spent at the school, I was told that he was in hospital for dialysis. Yet the local partner indicated that he has been absent many times before and has found several excuses to explain away his absence, some legitimate, others more dubious.

The poor performance of School Y points to deeper issues concerning teaching professionals in schools across South Africa. The behaviour of some teachers brings the profession into disrepute and devalues the position of teachers within the community. It is not uncommon to hear reports of teachers simply not arriving for work, not covering the curriculum in the allocated time, engaging in sexual relations with learners, and using school funds inappropriately. Considerable tension exists between teacher unions, primarily the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), and government education officials. SADTU is politically powerful and has enough backing from teachers to demand government's attention. Teachers who do not back SADTU are so intimidated by those who do that they dare not stand in defiance of the union. SADTU regularly leads strikes, go-slows and protests about working conditions and teacher salaries but has done little to expose the incompetence and criminality rife within its ranks.

Returning to the methodology, the regular yet informal contact that I had with school staff, learners and cooks assisted me to become familiar with the routine of the school and to build up trust. Once the staff and learners were aware of the purpose of my visit, they relaxed and were willing to offer me information about the programme freely. Almost all the visits took place in the morning as this is the time during which feeding takes place at the schools. It is also the optimal period during which to observe the everyday routine and obtain a detailed perspective on the implementation of the NSNP.

The conversations I had with staff and learners helped to provide more structure to the contact I had with key people and to provide answers to direct questions concerning the programme and its implementation. Interview schedules were drawn up prior to the in-depth interviews for government officials, school staff, cooks and learners respectively. In total, 24 in-depth interviews took place and ranged between 15 minutes (for young learners) and one and a half hours (for government officials). The interviews were loosely structured and questions from the interview schedule were only introduced when necessary. On some occasions, I had to abandon several interview schedule questions because the subject provided interesting information which I was not aware of and had not anticipated in the questions. The majority of my observations and findings were made by piecing information together from various interviews as well as the participant observations. The interplay between both methodologies helped to produce a clear and holistic understanding of the programme.

Data analysis

I collected a wide variety of data from several sources. The process of synthesising the information was a challenging one but it became clear as the research proceeded that the NSNP functions in three main ways: as a directive, as empowerment and as support. The data obtained during the interviews and observation sessions were transcribed and subsequently analysed in light of these three themes. They were also considered against the two main themes presented in the secondary sources that form the basis of the literature review which are education and food security as well as their relationship to the greater concept of development.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues were a serious consideration of this study because it involved vulnerable children and adults. Prior to beginning the research process, I applied to the Gauteng Education Department for permission to carry out the research, which was quickly approved. During initial contact with interview subjects, the purpose of the research was explained and the anticipated extent of their involvement was indicated. Before each

interview, participants were given an information sheet (included as an appendix) which explained the purpose of the research and reiterated that participation is voluntary and can be terminated at any point without discrimination. These were available in English, isiZulu or Sesotho and could be taken away. Participants were asked to fill out a consent form and an additional consent form for audio recording which I retained (and which also appear as appendices). All names used in this report are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants. This is in accordance with the four philosophical principles that determine ethical research: autonomy and respect for the dignity of persons, nonmaleficence, beneficence and justice (Wassenaar, 2006, 67-8).

Figure 8
Learners at School X enjoy a stimulating learning environment

Chapter 4

The NSNP as directive

The concept of school feeding and, by inference, the creation and implementation of menus as a tool towards social development is not a recent fabrication. Indeed, it has formed part of education policy in South Africa for numerous decades in various incarnations. A brief history of school feeding follows.

A history of school feeding

As early as 1916 the Transvaal Provincial Council provided food for needy (almost exclusively white) children. Other schemes initiated by government were the Milk and Cheese Scheme, the Dried Fruit Scheme, and the Citrus Scheme (Kallaway, 1996: 3). As a result of the political climate of fear and economic uncertainty in the country created by the outbreak of the Second World War and South Africa's involvement in that war, the ruling United Party hastily introduced state school feeding for primary school children in February 1943 (Kallaway, 1996: 4). This was a surprising move because the state had increased taxation to fund the war effort yet it had also committed itself to increased social welfare spending. In addition, the move was unusual as it pledged one free meal a day to every primary school child regardless of race.

Initially there were problems with implementation but the state remained committed to the scheme and wanted to legitimise its place as a social welfare strategy. Despite this, it took three years for legislation on school feeding to be passed, perhaps pointing to an underlying disinterest in the scheme. Weak formal policy led to chaotic implementation in the initial stages (Kallaway, 1996: 8). In the 1950s however, school feeding was slowly withdrawn, beginning with farm schools, mine schools and mission schools. Afterwards, the daily amount spent on children was reduced until the scheme was eventually abolished. The decision to discontinue feeding was in line with an international trend in the 1980s and 1990s of reducing social welfare spending in favour

of neoliberal economic policies. Thereafter school feeding became the responsibility of voluntary organisations. The pattern continued into the 1990s with organisations such as Operation Hunger and Ithuba leading the way.

The situation changed when South Africa became a democracy. The social development policy introduced by the ANC government when it came to power after the first democratic national elections in 1994 was known as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP emphasised the necessity to alleviate the needs of people living in poverty, particularly children. Thus a comprehensive national nutrition programme was a reasonable manifestation of RDP goals. The school nutrition programme, dubbed the Primary School Nutrition Project (PSNP), was one of former president Nelson Mandela's lead projects, instituted when he took office. It was originally "conceptualised primarily as an educational intervention aimed at addressing children's ability to learn, rather than a health intervention to improve the nutrition of children" (Public Service Commission, 2008: 5). By September 1994, 50 schools per province had implemented the project (Kallaway, 1996: 20). The original goals of the project were to:

- contribute to the improvement of education by enhancing primary school pupils' learning capacity, school attendance and punctuality and contribute to general health development by alleviating hunger
- educate pupils on nutrition and also improve nutritional status through micro-nutrition supplementation
- eradicate parasites wherever indicated
- develop the nutrition component of the general education curriculum (Public Service Commission, 2008: 5)

Yet the administration of the project did not reflect the urgency Mandela placed on the issue in his inaugural speech. The project was run by the Department of Health but implemented by the (then) Department of Education. Attempts to coordinate such a large-scale campaign across two governmental departments proved difficult. It was the Department of Health's task to devise the menu and the Department of Education's task

to implement the project and, while the menu was deemed acceptable, the implementation was fraught with problems. Various evaluations indicated that school feeding programmes were expensive and logistically complicated (evident in the administrative challenges faced at every level of management), capacity was lacking (both in terms of staff and skills) and management systems were inadequate and under-resourced especially in rural areas, and that the quality and quantity of school meals were not adhered to at provincial level (Public Service Commission, 2008: 5). In addition, several reasons were given to motivate the relocation of the project solely to the Department of Education. These were as follows:

- The focus of the project was on educational outcomes of school feeding and not on nutrition.
- School feeding was implemented in schools and should be the functional responsibility of the Department of Education.
- Management of the project under the Department of Education would give the Department the opportunity to include school feeding into the broader context of educational development. (Public Service Commission, 2008: 5)

Moreover, the project placed additional burden on the Department of Health which was struggling to cope with its own set of concerns, particularly the overestimation of the health care system's ability to effectively absorb public health care needs as well as the increasing financial and human resource burden HIV/Aids placed on the primary health care system. Eventually, the project was deemed a failure and a shake-up occurred in 2004.

During the restructure, the entire nutrition mandate was shifted to the Department of Education, now the Department of Basic Education, including the creation of menus. This is also when the project was renamed the National School Nutrition Programme. Ms C, a senior official at national government level, indicated during an interview that the shift in departments was inherently problematic too. New menus had to be planned and the task was given to education professionals who had little (if any) knowledge of nutrition and menu planning and therefore did not have the capacity to generate

balanced meals. Without much knowledge, experience or assistance, they put together menus that were rolled out to schools. Meals in five of the provinces originally took the form of a snack of fortified biscuits and peanut butter, while the other provinces served a cooked meal of soya mince, cabbage and rice, or similar. It appears that the same meal was served every day and, understandably, the reaction to this rigid dietary routine was frustration, boredom and disgust.

The negative attitude has remained and is so strong that the cooks at School X have to mix soya mince in with mince meat and add generous amounts of spice to disguise the presence of the soya. Learners reject the meal if they can taste soya mince (Ms E, 2011). This is problematic as soya mince is an integral part of the programme because it is an inexpensive and nutritious source of protein. The result of disproportionately relying on the foodstuff as part of the menu has resulted in broadly negative attitudes to that meal. Meat is a favourite source of protein in South Africa, where meat is expected at almost every meal. It may be a favourite but it is expensive and difficult to store for long periods of time. To avoid the cost and possible threat of contamination, meat has not been included as a source of protein at all on the NSNP menu. Whilst this is understandable from a budgetary and health perspective, it seems counterintuitive to disregard a food stuff that is enjoyed and deeply entrenched in the culture of the people the programme serves.

Within a few years, it was realised that the programme's implementation had continued to fail. It was also decided that from 2010, all children needed to be served a hot, cooked meal every day and that the menu had to be diverse and address numerous nutritional concerns.

Operation of the current programme

DBE provides each province with 14 basic meal combinations from which provincial education department staff generate a menu that uses locally available produce and that is culturally sensitive. (For example, if a particular culture does not allow the consumption of pork, this option will not be chosen.) The menu is then submitted to

DBE and, once it has been approved, it is rolled out to schools in the province. Once a menu has been created and has been approved by DBE, that menu is set for that academic year and reviewed the following year, although this rarely occurs due to a lack of effective management and insufficient resources to permit continual revision.

Any staples that are left over at the end of each term are given to children as take-home rations. Each child is instructed to bring a packet into which left-over products are divided equally and the food is used to see children through the holiday period. Even this process is problematic though. At School Y, the process of handing out rations had to be carefully streamlined once it became clear that members of the community were falsely claiming to be parents of learners who attended the school in order to collect rations (Ms Q, 2011).

Figure 9
The storeroom at School Y containing bags of unused porridge

Another important but somewhat sidelined aspect of the NSNP is the food gardens. There is an increasing trend towards organic food production, buying local and food gardens in homes. Gardens, especially kitchen gardens, have even become a fashionable feature of apartment blocks where space is limited and any form of plant life (decorative

or nutritious) is an unexpected surprise. The move signals a change in thinking aligned to the tenets of the ecological era. Urban dwellers are seeking ways of reducing their demand on the earth and its resources by providing for their own needs. Food gardens no longer are merely within the domain of the rural poor. Urban middle class dwellers also recognise the value of subsistence farming since it provides a healthier diet and is better for the environment.

Gardens at schools have two main aims. The first is to supplement the fruit and vegetable staples provided by government. The second is to provide learners with food production skills and to socialise gardens and food production into children's everyday lives. I was interested to discover that most of the produce grown in the gardens (at both Schools X and Y) is used in the kitchens as part of the meals. Meals were not designed around what was available due to the seasonal nature of produce and the limited number of crops ready for harvesting. Rather, the vegetables and herbs were added to existing meal options to fortify them and make them even more enjoyable. This is also a way of increasing the vegetable content of the meal at very little cost.

The implementation of the latter role is somewhat confused though. It became evident during interviews that learners do not get involved in the gardens on a regular basis (Ms E, 2011; Ms S, 2011; Mr T, 2011; Ms V, 2011). In fact, most children never have anything to do with the garden except when they are told not to go near it during break time. It was clear that learners had been informed concerning out-of-bounds areas and that the rule was enforced rigorously. During one observation session, I spent time with the learners as they played at break. None of them went anywhere near the garden although they stared at it with interest when I was taking photographs of it and thinking aloud about the crops. None of them ventured near the garden yet when I asked if they liked the garden they answered in the positive. Learners who express an interest become part of the environment committee (or a similar extra-mural activity) and occasionally are given the opportunity to work the soil under the supervision of the gardener. For the most part, these learners gain knowledge about environmental issues and – in proactive schools such as School X – are given the opportunity to attend external training events which broaden their knowledge and skills.

Similarly, the wider community does not get involved in the garden but Ms E (2011), principal of School X, believes that parents are aware of the garden, have seen its value and, in some cases, have begun to grow their own crops as a result. The potential for the garden to become a way to promote food production and a site for knowledge and skills transferral is significant yet that potential is unrealised at this point. If food gardens and food production is normalised in children's lives, they see it as a natural and viable option in the future in situations where access to food may be problematic. For example, a child who grows up and leaves the family to form their own household may cultivate a garden. If disposable income is insufficient to ensure that adequate fresh food supplies are available in the home, the child turns to knowledge and skills concerning food production gained at school. This assists learners to feed themselves and their new family, without becoming a burden on the state. Similarly, learners go home and tell their parents what they learnt about gardens and food production. The transfer of knowledge provides an opportunity for parents to gain information and ideas to put into practice. Thus knowledge and skills are spread bottom upwards via learners to the rest of the community, building the community's ability to provide for itself in terms of basic nutrition needs and producing healthier individuals.

Figure 10
The food gardens at School Y are more fertile than those at School X

Figure 11
Classrooms at School Y are cramped and have broken windows

It is clear thus far that many parties are involved in the administration of the programme. Financial concerns are as complex. The NSNP is funded by a conditional grant made on an annual basis by the National Treasury to the DBE. The conditions are based on the MDGs which guide the country's social development goals. Each province provides DBE with a proposed budget which includes food, stipends for the helpers, equipment and fuel. DBE collates these figures, in addition to any other figures it needs to add such as overheads, and submits this to the National Treasury for approval.

The conditional grant has changed in response to previous evaluations of the NSNP. Amendments include the employment of nutrition experts to the NSNP staff once it became clear that there was a capacity issue when planning menus (Ms C, 2011). DBE also issues tenders to service providers to supply staple products to schools. These tenders are publically advertised in the media and are open to anyone deemed suitable to fulfil the criteria.

The administration of the programme occurs in several different ways according to the province and particular school involved. Money is sent directly to schools in four provinces (Free State, Northern Cape, North West and Eastern Cape). This practice was probably instituted as a result of earlier fraudulent tenders which did not provide equipment to schools as agreed. The remaining provinces use a tender process which the provincial department administrates on behalf of the school. The funding (whether given directly to the school or to a tender recipient) is used to purchase staples such as pap, samp, rice, mealie rice, vegetables and fruit. Gas for cooking is purchased from and supplied by Afrox (a privatised company) when needed and equipment is bought by individual schools where necessary. Both are paid for by DBE from available funding which is budgeted for at the national level. Part of the funding given to schools goes towards the payment of a stipend for people involved in cooking the meals and tending the gardens. These people are known as food handlers (though in schools they are known as cooks and gardeners or helpers). They are paid a stipend of approximately R600 per month. Many of the food handlers are unemployed parents of learners who do not have an alternative form of income or, if they do, it is precarious in nature.

Ms E (2011) indicates that training rarely takes place for food handlers or that a successful school is used as the site for training but receives no training itself. Lack of financial resources for regular training prevents new food handlers from obtaining proper knowledge and skills such as basic hygiene and so on. Food handlers must learn on the job from previous, more experienced staff. It therefore is unfair that food handlers are monitored according to a set of standards of which they were never made fully aware. Training tends to involve district officials who are meant to pass the knowledge and skills gained during training on to schools. In addition, successful schools are exploited at training sessions in that they are demonstrated as models of the programme yet government has done little to assist them to become the model it touts.

A triangulated relationship exists between government, schools and partners or donors. The relationship is initiated by the partner who approaches the DBE or provincial department from which emerges a memorandum of understanding. Conversely, the relationship is fostered at the school level and either remains at this level or becomes a formalised relationship with the provincial or national departments. Large organisations, such as Massmart, previously have approached DBE and made known their desire to use part of their CSI spend to support the NSNP. In order to do so, Massmart currently supplies mobile kitchenettes to schools. (See Figure 12 on page 59 for an image of the kitchenettes.) The relationship has been formalised and so the organisation is able to supply mobile kitchens across the country.

Other relationships are less formalised, such as the link between School X and School Y, the international donor and the local partner. The name of the international donor cannot be named for the sake of confidentiality but it is an agency within the government of a European nation set up to address development issues in emerging economies. Similarly, the local partner cannot be named but is a children's home (based in a middle-class urban area in Johannesburg) that has worked in Katlehong for many years. The local partner's role is to administrate the funding provided by the international donor and to monitor the project according to the international donor's strict requirements. The relationship between the schools, international donor and local partner only involves the two schools and will come to an end when the three-year

agreement draws to a close in 2012. It is unsettling to imagine what will happen to the schools once the additional support has come to an end. The schools were made aware of the life of the project at its initiation and the sustainability of the project has always been the school's concern. This may be unfair on the part of the international donor but it is also understandable that funding is limited and cannot be expected unceasingly. School X's principal indicated that she is looking for partners to replace the international donor but School Y's principal seems to not have any firm plan in place to ensure continuity.

The international donor's decision to pull out of the project completely after the three years follows a common trend amongst NGOs working in Africa, particularly in the area of nutrition and famine. By removing themselves suddenly and leaving plans for sustainability up to ill-equipped schools, they are perpetuating the very social issues they have tried to alleviate in the country. Real and sustainable change cannot happen in a brief period such as three years and the wisdom of the international donor is questionable here. (See de Waal, 1997 for more on this.) Yet the help has been tangible and, in the hands of Schools X's principal, has done immense good for the school.

Challenges for schools

And so, given the highs and lows of school feeding described above, what is the culmination of nearly a century of feeding school children? The unfortunate truth is that the situation is far from ideal. The current programme continues the desire of those in power to provide in concrete ways on a regular basis for citizens least able to provide for themselves. Yet the system is plagued by mixed messages, inadequate resources, limited capacity and mismanagement. The historical analysis of the programme presented above suggests that the state's relationship with school feeding has always been problematic. Governments across the decades have been aware of the fundamental need for school feeding yet implementation historically has been slow and poorly managed. This is evident as late as 2004 when the shake-up occurred.

This is clear in the two schools I visited. School X is run by a strong personality who clearly is the ultimate authority figure at the school. She is aware of everything that is happening and makes a point of involving herself in the activities in the school. Very few decisions, especially financial decisions, are made without her. School Y is the antithesis. The principal is often away and it was reported to me from several sources that his leadership is weak (Ms E, 2011; Ms O, 2011). He does not manage the programme. Rather, he has two teachers who check on the kitchen, take delivery of products and deal with monitoring and evaluation issues when district officials arrive. Both are busy teachers who are expected to be in the classroom and who do not have much time to manage the programme. The coordinator of the programme at School Y said that she did not need a lot of time each week to manage the programme (Ms Q, 2011). Since the programme is not managed well at School Y, her sentiments may point more to the poor implementation of the programme at this school than the minimal organisation it requires in general. The deputy principal, Ms R, knew very little about the programme and its organisation when I interviewed her. It seemed that she was not privy to the information, not that she was disinvested. All these factors point to organisational problems. Since he has outsourced the task to a teacher who has neither the time nor enough power to manage the programme effectively, it seems that the principal of School Y is not able or willing to cope with the programme in addition to his other responsibilities.

It is the principal's duty to lead the programme in each school, which is not always the case. School Y is a typical example of this. The programme relies on a hands-on approach, where the principal is aware of the functioning of the kitchen, the storage of products, imminent procurement needs, the state of the budget and spending, as well as the monitoring and evaluation process. The programme requires excellent organisational skills to seamlessly integrate it into the school day, along with all the other requirements and responsibilities present in running a teaching institution. A dynamic, aware and proactive person is necessary to make a success of the job and, as School Y demonstrates, the person employed to lead the school may not possess these qualities.

Further complicating the situation is the inherent bureaucracy of government departments. Long chains of authority and communication that work from national government, through to provincial government and finally (via district offices) to individual schools result in confusing messages about what the programme requires of schools and the reason for the requirements. Furthermore, the recent decision to put provincial government departments under administration in Limpopo, Eastern Cape, Free State and Mpumalanga due to financial mismanagement and corruption indicate that governance is a major problem which impacts the effectiveness of programmes such as the NSNP.

Ms V, a district official performing monitoring and evaluation at Katlehong schools (including School X), expressed her frustration at filling out reams of paperwork without any idea what it was for or where it would go. It was clear from her statements that she saw her role in the bureaucratic chain as limited and isolated. This is a manifestation of poor leadership and a system that is convoluted and hinders itself from reaching its own aims.

In addition to poor capacity, resources are inadequate. Once again, this ranges from the national DBE level to individual schools. The DBE provides funding for basic staple foods, the helpers' stipends, equipment and gas. It is understandable that it is a considerable challenge for the Department to feed 8.1 million learners with a budget of R915 million (DBE, 2011).

According to the 2009/2010 DBE NSNP annual report, every primary school learner is allocated R1.80 per day. This is what it costs government every day per learner and includes a division of the estimated costs for fuel, equipment and the stipend for cooks. Yet, according to Ms A, a district official, each learner is allocated R1.40. Moreover, according to the kitchen supervisor at School X, each learner receives R1 per day. The variation may be a matter of incorrect memory and the inclusion versus exclusion of equipment and fuel costs but it does raise questions about the way in which funding is allocated and distributed.

Funds are transferred to provincial departments on a quarterly basis and are subject to quarterly reports on expenditure against budget. Service providers deliver staple products to the school and the service provider is also meant to pay cooks the monthly stipend. Government supplies equipment to schools and has Afrox deliver gas to schools. Each school (if it is a Section 21 school) has its own bank account from which it operates but the system has been organised so that schools never have to procure any food or equipment themselves. They simply must keep delivery notes supplied by the service providers as well as any other relevant documentation. Any income the school makes from fundraising by selling products from the bakery or garden is saved in the school bank account.

Regardless of how funds are allocated and distributed, it is blatantly obvious that the amount government supplies to each school is insufficient. The principal of School X indicates that government's contribution barely covers basic staples and it is not enough to feed the 1 200 learners at School X every day (Ms E, 2011). In some cases – such as School X which is run by a proactive principal – the school takes up the challenge of raising additional funds by holding civvies days (where children replace their school uniform for ordinary clothes but have to pay a small amount for the privilege of doing so) and seeking external support from donors. Grants from donors are subject to monitoring and evaluation in addition to monitoring carried out by district officials.

The distribution and use of funding is strictly monitored by the local partner involved with School X and School Y, who is responsible for completing numerous highly detailed and time-consuming reports. Planned and unplanned visits occur at the schools. (Unplanned visits have become more commonplace than planned visits at School Y due to its poor performance and the local partner's desire to keep the school operating at optimal performance.) The additional funding provides these schools with the opportunity to serve meals that are even more enjoyable and nutritious than the meals prescribed by the Department, especially since they include meat and not a meat substitute. Thus the school disregards protocol and the department's menu in favour of a more expensive but more exciting menu, or a menu that matches donor stipulations. In schools without a proactive principal, children receive inadequate meals and/or must

rely on financial donations. A poster denoting the weekly menu at School X can be found in Figure 13 on page 60.

Ms E, principal of School X, provided a breakdown of monthly costs which demonstrates the point made above (Ms E, 2011). The international donor and its local partner (an AIDS orphanage) decided that a budget of R1 per child per day should be created. Since there are roughly 1 200 learners in School X, this brings the total to R1 200 per day. This is equivalent to approximately R24 000 per month. If, as documentation leads us to believe, government spends R1.80 per day on each learner in School X, that amounts to R2 160 per day (or approximately R43 000 per month) for the entire school. Thus, School X needs R67 000 per month to feed each learner.

It is not possible to deliver the standard of food the school currently produces, given what government provides. The monthly transfer into the school's bank account from the local partner is used to augment the products that government has delivered to the school. The staples delivered by the service provider include tinned fish, rice, vegetables and oil. Ms E indicated that the products delivered to the school were not adequate enough to feed all the learners in the school for an entire month and that learners would have to be served smaller portions of a substandard meal in order to make the delivery last since deliveries occur once a month. Indeed, a substandard meal is better than no meal at all yet the aims of the programme to improve overall nutrition and nutrition education are not as effectively and sustainably met by serving a lacklustre lunch as they are by serving a meal to which children respond positively.

Ms E reports that deliveries are not made regularly and the school is not guaranteed of receiving the same amount of stock each time. So, if too few tins of canned fish are delivered to the school, it is the school's responsibility to make do with what they have for the month. Complaints can be made to district officials but, due to their infrequent visits and limited authority, little is done to support the school. Paperwork is filled out by the officials and forwarded in reports to the provincial department but little comes of these appeals. The school has to wait for the following month in the hope that the deficit will not be repeated. Hence the significance of external financial assistance. School X is

certain it will receive the monthly transfer of R24 000 which can make up for gaps left by inadequate deliveries from the service provider as well as allow the school to purchase meat. Ms E indicates that the school would not be able to serve the enjoyable and nutritious food it does without the help of the sponsor. The assistance of the sponsor ceases after a three-year cycle which ends in 2012. This is a deadline she is acutely aware of and is working towards finding another sponsor so that the current menu can continue.

Perhaps the greatest resource deficiency pertains to infrastructure. Most schools do not have proper and safe facilities to prepare and serve meals. Some schools use a converted ship container or classroom to prepare meals and often it is used as the storage facility too. In some alarming cases, schools have placed the gas cylinders inside the container and have had to be educated about the dangers of doing so. In other cases, purpose-built container kitchenettes, such as Massmart's AmaLunchbox initiative (see Figure 12 on page 59), have been donated to schools. (These are pink converted ship containers donated by Massmart through the Game division that are decked out with work surfaces, storage areas and cooking spaces and are used as serving areas for meals. Massmart also donates the crockery and cutlery used by learners. The school is then adopted by the local Game store and is welcome to approach the store any time they require help or additional equipment.) Most schools do not have a dining hall (unlike School X and School Y, which received funds from an international donor to pay for the construction of dining halls) and children have to eat on the dusty playground or under some form of cover when it rains. This practice does not promote the focus on hygiene which is central to the programme. Government cannot expect schools to adhere to hygiene requirements if it does not assist schools to develop suitable environments in which to eat.

Ms W, a provincial official, indicated that there is an increasing move by DBE to decentralise the programme and to allow schools to manage the programme independently. She hopes that in time schools will be used to managing the programme and familiar with the notion of taking responsibility and raising additional funds and so will be able to raise their own funds to pay for the construction of dining halls. Once

again, this is placing the burden of implementation on schools which are ill-equipped to implement the programme any better than they currently are. Poor performing schools will have even less reason to offer a quality programme to their learners which will potentially result in harm being done by the project instead of good. It is also interesting to note that the department is looking to decentralise the NSNP at the same time as it is centralising many academic aspects such as annual learner assessment and learning material selection and procurement.

Figure 12
Media release for Massmart's AmaLunchbox initiative (Image courtesy of Massmart, photo: Mykel Nicolaou)

Conclusion

Despite their complexity and problems, feeding programmes in schools are important as they act as a buffer against shocks which poor households struggle to endure. Food gardens play a significant role in changing perceptions about food production. Take-home rations are a way of assisting the community as much as possible with basic nutrition through the school framework. Often, take-home ration systems ensure that

children stay in school for longer than they would otherwise, which has a considerable effect on their life chances since they spend more time in an educational environment and therefore increase their knowledge and skills. The NSNP is a directive from DBE which schools are obliged to act on yet it also is a tangible way that government is addressing the needs of many struggling people. It provides nutrition to people who may not have had access to healthy food otherwise and provides knowledge and skills through the daily meals that are served and the food gardens. The programme is a step towards development. In the next chapter, other ways in which the NSNP contributes towards development are explored.

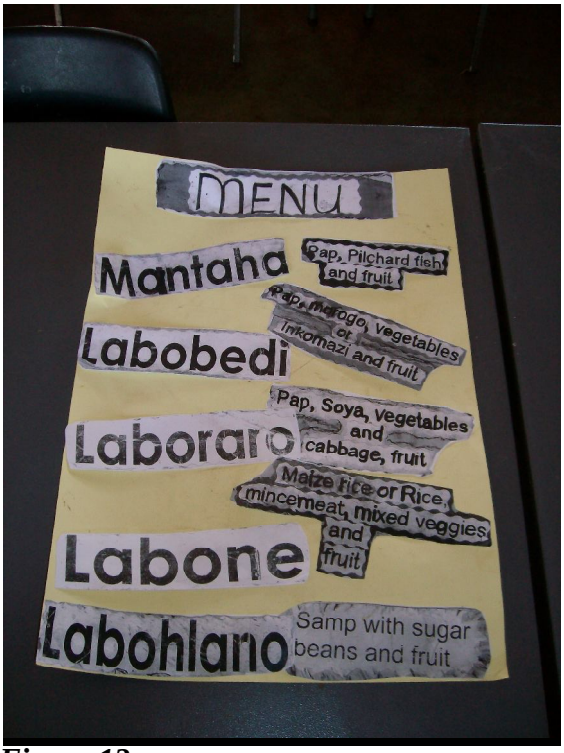

Figure 13
A recently refurbished poster of School X's menu

Menu	
Mantaha (Monday)	Pap, pilchard fish and fruit
Labobedi (Tuesday)	Pap, morogo, vegetables or inkomazi and fruit
Laboraro (Wednesday)	Pap, soya, vegetables and cabbage, fruit
Labone (Thursday)	Maize rice or rice, mince meat, mixed veggies and fruit
Labohlano (Friday)	Samp with sugar, beans and fruit

Chapter 5

The NSNP as an empowerment and educational tool

The school is an established organ of the state which has wide-ranging reach within communities and the capacity to make a considerable difference in society. In South Africa, it is compulsory for children to attend school until the end of the General Education and Training (GET) band which is Grade 9 or 15 years of age. Thus government has at least nine years during which it is interacting with communities and has the opportunity to recognise and meet individual need. This is a unique opportunity. It is unlike the health sector, in which community members make themselves known due to an existing problem, or the traditional workplace, in which an exchange of labour for wages precedes a commitment to meeting social need. Government, then, is able to use schools to influence behaviour and to form or change attitudes. In short, it is able to educate and empower.

Education of a non-academic kind transpires as a result of school feeding and food gardens: that of skills development. Numerous sets of skills are obtained from the feeding programme. Cooks report that they have gained skills in the production of healthy, nutritious and attractive meals. They have also gained knowledge about food safety, hygiene, catering for very large groups of people and interpersonal (working) relationships (Ms F, 2011; Ms G, 2011). The opportunity presented by food gardens for adults and learners alike to gain skills in planting, harvesting and crop rotation is clear. These skills are invaluable as they may be used to feed households and can be used to find employment where there is none. Moreover, providing learners with tangible skills (such as planting and harvesting) supplies them not only with education, it is also a form of empowerment. Nutrition education is another form of empowerment. Learners are able to make informed choices throughout their lives using the knowledge they gained while at school and they are able to use the skills and experience gained to guide future nutrition decisions and garden projects.

The process of educating learners about nutrition, as well as equipping learners with skills to produce and prepare healthy meals, is part of sharing the responsibility for food security. Lack of access to food is the primary cause of food insecurity in South Africa, as opposed to lack of availability and adequacy which is the case in many other African states (Ms B, 2011). Unstable cash flow in households caused by precarious and intermittent labour leads to irregular supplies of nutritious food which results in short-term and long-term hunger and malnutrition. People in this position turn to the state for assistance in the form of grants. The burden this practice places on government is onerous and will have to diminish if long-term social development is to occur. The school, through the NSNP, is used as a site of change for this purpose.

In addition to learners, the NSNP empowers community members as well. Mothers of learners are asked at parents' evenings to write their names down if they are unemployed and are willing to work in the kitchen at the school (Ms F, 2011). As many as a hundred mothers fill in the form every year and for some it is an annual task since their employment status and opportunities rarely change. It is part of NSNP policy to use unemployed parents as labour on a voluntary basis for one year which is compensated via a small stipend of R600 per month. (Originally, rotation happened every six months and cooks were only guaranteed six months of the stipend.) For many mothers, the stipend is all they have per month to provide for their households. Some cooks indicated that they would not have other work or would have to take occasional jobs as a domestic worker which are sporadic and do not pay well (Ms F, 2011; Ms G, 2011). Thus the programme provides community members with work that improves their dignity, self-esteem and future employment prospects.

By working in the kitchen, mothers are able to gain skills and develop a sense of purpose. Some cooks, such as Ms H at School X, have discovered leadership qualities they did not think they had. Ms H reports that she was very shy before she started working at the school and struggled to talk to anyone with confidence (Ms H, 2011). Within a few weeks, she was made supervisor which means that she is responsible for organising the cooks' work schedule, solving problems, assisting with budgetary concerns and monitoring stock. These are not skills she had before she took the position

at the school but they are now invaluable examples of the education and empowerment that are fundamental to the programme. Other cooks may find themselves in similar positions of full-time employment and/or leadership, not necessarily at the school, as a result of the skills and experience they gained while working in the kitchen.

However, the system of year-long employment is problematic because it is inconsistent and (in some cases) self-defeating. Names of available parents are drawn from the list made at parents' evening at the beginning of the year. Mothers are approached about potential employment at the school at which point they can express their interest. If an agreement is reached, they fill in an employment contract supplied by the district office and attach a copy of their identity document. Once the registration process is complete, mothers begin work as cooks. According to Ms H, kitchen supervisor at School X, new cooks spend some time overlapping with current cooks to learn the ropes. Despite this handover period, she reports that it still takes several weeks for cooks to become confident in their tasks and for the new group to mesh (Ms H, 2011). After a few months, the group has settled into their subgroups and routine and the system works well. As the year draws to a close within a few subsequent months, new cooks must be found and the changeover period begins.

There is little chance for the school to retain the skills it has helped to develop and for cooks to improve, progress in terms of responsibility or gain additional skills across the long term. It is also difficult for the school to try several different methods of preparing and serving meals in order to determine which is the most effective, due to the high staff turnover. The one-year contract can be beneficial in the case of a non-performing cook who is replaced by a competent and enthusiastic one. On the whole, the high and regular turnover of staff promotes focus on the short-term which prevents the programme from being as effective as it could. A system of longer term, multi-year contracts for cooks who have proven themselves, in addition to single-year contracts for newer cooks, may help to circumvent the annual loss of skills since schools would simultaneously build up a reservoir of experience whilst developing potential.

Another problem is the way in which the recruitment process is handled. Paperwork is meant to be filed in the NSNP file belonging to the school. Often this paperwork is not in order (Ms V, 2011) which casts doubt on accuracy and organisation. Some mothers are never given the opportunity to work in the kitchen because their contact details are lost. Also, it may be the case that school organisers blame administrative disorder and irregular filing for favouritism and preference of particular women over others.

Another problem concerns the payment of the stipend. The supplier who delivers products to the school is also in charge of providing cooks with their monthly stipend but the supplier cannot necessarily be relied upon to deliver the money at the same time each month or even at all (Ms V, 2011). The stipend is either paid later than the agreed date or is not paid at all which produces numerous problems for the cooks and the school, both administratively and in terms of labour relations. (The impression I get is that School X would find a way to assist cooks who have not been paid until the funding comes through whereas School Y would not do the same.) Cooks have little security that they will receive the stipend and little recourse to have their grievances met because of GDE's failure to promptly act on problems flagged by district officials.

Staff quality is an allied problem. In some cases, cooks have been employed for several years – in violation of the one-year policy advocated by the NSNP policy – because they are good at their work. In contrast, some schools have adhered to the one-year employment contract to their detriment. Ms V tells of schools that got rid of good cooks who were passionate about their jobs, only to employ other cooks who were disinterested and displayed poor work ethic (Ms V, 2011). The system is intended to give a little to a lot of people – to share resources as widely as possible and to benefit as many people as possible even though it is only for a short time. Abuse of the system is detrimental to all involved.

Training, or rather the knowledge transmitted during training, is a form of empowerment as well. Training may only occur on a once-off basis (Ms E, 2011; Ms V, 2011) yet the fact that it occurs at all is proof that further training is possible given enough resources and organisation. Further training is warranted for several reasons.

Firstly, the one-year nature of employment contracts means that there is a new group of mothers employed as cooks every year, many of whom do not have any experience working in professional catering. Each new group should receive the same amount of training as the group who were originally trained because they are equally in need of knowledge on food safety, gas safety and basic hygiene practices.

This is not the case. The principal of School X reports that training happened once when the revamped version of the programme was rolled out in late 2009 but has never taken place again (Ms E, 2011). Secondly, the training course provided originally covered several important topics such as food safety, gas safety, best practice with regard to hygiene as well as HIV and the NSNP (Ms V, 2011). The content of the course covered more information than cooks needed on a daily basis in the kitchen yet it provided an excellent opportunity to address community issues in order to educate and empower mothers.

Several cooks report learning about the importance of hygiene through informal training while working in the kitchen (Ms F, 2011; Ms G, 2011). Hygiene is a crucial part of the programme and its importance is stressed in the kitchen. Cooks are aware of the importance of food safety and personal hygiene as they relate to catering for large numbers of people (Ms G, 2011). The importance of hygiene is drummed into learners as well and would not have happened if it were not for the programme.

Each classroom at School X has a large plastic dish, approximately 15cm deep, which is attached to the wall outside the classroom about half a metre above the ground. Learners must wash their hands in the basin before they are allowed to proceed to the dining hall. Learners also use the basin to wash their hands after the meal or at any time during the day. The routine has clearly been internalised since I witnessed long queues of children diligently waiting in line to wash their hands even though they were very young or boisterous. The teachers reinforce the importance of hygiene by including hand washing as part of classroom routine (Mr T, 2011). The focus on hygiene empowers learners to know what constitutes a healthy life and to value wellness enough to invest in it. The

adults must have internalised its value as well since they enforce the routine so diligently.

In addition to educating and empowering children and their cook parents, the circle of influence involving the NSNP includes community businesses. Tenders are advertised annually and awarded to any tenderpreneur who proves they are able to supply food to the schools in the province. There are 15 education districts in Gauteng province and just fewer than 2.2 million learners in the province. It is NSNP policy to have one service provider per 6 000 learners (Ms W, 2011). This means that approximately 367 service providers are required in Gauteng alone. Due to the vast number of service providers required, several local suppliers are preferred over a few large companies. Thus, numerous opportunities exist for tenderpreneurs to be involved in the NSNP and to serve their own or nearby communities. This creates employment and entrepreneurial opportunities thereby stimulating economic growth.

Tenders are awarded on an annual basis which means that regular opportunities arise for service providers to become involved in the programme. Once again, this shows that a concerted effort is being made by government to give the opportunity to develop as many people as possible by spreading resources widely and getting many interested parties involved.

The NSNP is not only concerned with feeding learners. There is also a growing intention to include nutrition education explicitly in the curriculum. During interviews, learners indicated that they learn very little about food in the curriculum currently – perhaps some basic information in Life Orientation on the food groups as well as vitamins and minerals – and occasionally they play soccer in the field as part of the physical education requirement (Ms M, 2011; Ms N, 2011). No concerted effort has been made to include nutrition as part of academic cross-curricular content. Thus, the only messages about healthy eating and what makes a healthy diet are learnt via the meals served during lunch.

Learners, when asked about the meals they eat at school, consistently named the three major food groups that are fundamental to the NSNP menu: protein, carbohydrates and vegetables. The older learners were even able to identify that these three elements are consistently served and are important for a balanced diet (Ms M, 2011; Ms N, 2011). This indicates that the menu and the staff have succeeded in generating awareness about nutrition. Yet the need for direct academic instruction concerning nutrition is clear. Ms W, a senior GDE official, indicated that the department is hoping to increase the amount of nutrition education that takes place in the future as well as promoting food gardens (Ms W, 2011).

The role of dieticians and nutritionists is important at the national level on a regular basis, particularly when creating menus and determining the curriculum for nutrition education. This was made evident during the early development of the programme at School X. A menu had to be created by the school for the approval of the international donor before the donor would begin transferring monthly funds for food and products. Ms E, the principal, reported that the school produced a menu which (inadvertently) focused on cost reduction rather than on nutrition. Products such as intestines and chicken heads were chosen because they are inexpensive, common and culturally acceptable (Ms E, 2011). The menu was rejected by the donor due to the unbalanced nature of the menu and school management became aware that their choices were not best for the learners' health. The donor, via the local partner, then drafted in the skills of a dietician to produce the menu the school currently uses. Specialist knowledge is central to creating menus that are healthy, balanced, and culturally appropriate and that make use of local produce. It also places the focus of the menu on the food primarily and on cost secondarily.

The menu was created independently and without consultation with DBE yet it is remarkably close to the menu prescribed by the GDE for schools in Gauteng. (All schools that run the NSNP are obliged to follow the menu set out by the provincial department in order for monitoring by district officials to be meaningful.) This indicates that there is consensus about what constitutes a balanced and healthy (yet reasonably priced) meal for children living in Gauteng. It also indicates that education around

healthy food choices is necessary because adults may privilege price over nutrition which perpetuates poor food choices and unhealthy diets in their children.

An important aspect of nutrition education is changing habits and choices by making the healthy alternative preferable to less nutritious but tempting choices. The previous example of the menu of intestines and chicken heads is exemplary. Similarly, while it has come to be loathed, soya mince is healthier than chicken's feet or fatty cuts of meat. School management at School X was educated about balanced diets in the process of creating the menu which changed the choice of products and meals served to learners currently. Similarly, by being served varied and balanced meals on a regular basis, learners are taught that it is better to eat a meal containing protein, some form of carbohydrate and vegetables rather than a meal of delicious tastes but little calorific value.

Food combinations on the menu are chosen so that they are visually appealing to learners. A healthy diet therefore becomes more interesting and exciting for learners than a plateful of treats and the hope is that in future they will desire healthy food over other less nutritious choices. In addition to a colourful plate, the menu indicates that food should be aromatic and so spices are used liberally. Learners' senses are bombarded by an attractive and appealing plate which stimulates and satisfies their appetites. This teaches them that healthy food can be delicious food and so nutrition education is achieved. Ms A, a senior district official, and Ms C, a senior national official, both stressed the importance of a colourful plate to be served to learners (Ms C, 2011; Ms E, 2011).

The colour and aroma of the plate make a difference. Learners report that they look forward to the food because it looks and smells nice. They enjoy the meals, particularly chicken and rice (Ms M, 2011; Ms N, 2011). Their enjoyment was evident during the observation sessions I spent at the school. There was much excitement amongst the children waiting in line for meals which signals that break time and receiving meals is an enjoyable experience. It was also evident in the rapid pace at which the children ate their meals and the empty plates that were returned to the washing up container.

Aside from the need for a colourful plate is the need for a balanced menu. Balanced means that every meal the learners are served contains some form of carbohydrate, vegetable (or fruit) and protein. The menu produced by the GDE stipulates that learners must be served each of these food groups at every meal. The concept of a balanced and nutritious meal is reiterated in the recipe book supplied by the NSNP entitled *Mzansi for Sure* as well as the prescribed menus selected by each provincial education department. The importance of a balanced meal has filtered through the system and is evident in the opinions of a range of people, from the GDE dietician (Ms W, 2011) through to the cooks (Ms F, 2011).

In addition to advocating a balanced meal made up of the three main food groups, principals and cooks are encouraged to vary the products used in each food group to encourage maximum absorption of micronutrients. Cooks may not serve pap or rice every day – they must vary the menu so that learners enjoy a diverse diet. This presents a challenge in that it makes feeding more complicated. Government must supply (or, where necessary, principals and cooks must buy) a greater range of products when it would be easier to purchase large quantities of a single type of staple. The commitment to nutrition education is shown in action through government's willingness to complicate the system by adding more products and more options (for example, disallowing the same carbohydrate to be served day after day or requiring several different proteins across the week). Yet the benefits outweigh the difficulty. Learners' diets are improved and they develop the habit of varying their diets and valuing the nutrition content of individual food products.

It is important to note that the learners' range of food options is explicitly directed towards healthy choices. School X runs a tuck-shop but this mainly sells to parents who buy bread and muffins baked in the bakery each morning. The tuck shop also sells premade sandwiches which are also prepared in the kitchen in the morning. A few other treat items are available such as potato crisps, packets of biscuits, fizzers and some fruit. Chocolates, cakes, pastries, sweets and sugary drinks are not available to the children. The principal of School X reports that learners' attention is directed away from junk food available in the tuck-shop by placing the focus on the cooked meal (Ms E, 2011).

By not stocking chocolates, cakes and pastries, learners do not have the opportunity to eat these. Thus children are taught that these are not regular viable food options.

Moreover, learners spend most of their break time lining up to receive their meal or actually eating it, which does not allow them much time to visit the tuck shop. The principal also reports that learners are satisfied by the cooked meal they receive and so there is almost no demand for the junk food available in the tuck shop. This was made evident when I spoke with Ms L, a learner in Grade 7, who was alone in sucking on a guava-flavoured ice lolly one morning which she bought from the tuck shop. She indicated that she buys the ice lolly sometimes as a treat (Ms L, 2011). None of the children around her asked to share the ice lolly and none seemed to be drawing attention to it. This shows that demand for a treat such as this is not great. Learners must bring treats into school themselves and, due to the negligible number of treats I noticed during the observation sessions, this is not a practice that the children indulge in regularly.

Promoting nutrition education by serving learners the food they should eat goes even further. Ms C, a senior national official, indicated that certain micronutrients have been identified as lacking in learners' diets and so foods containing these micronutrients are especially promoted in NSNP menus (Ms C, 2011). These micronutrients include vitamin A, iron and iodine and they are found in foods such as green leafy vegetables and fish. Highlighting these foods presents them to learners as important foods to be included in a healthy lifestyle and viable choices beyond the school environment.

Cost is an important consideration which has led DBE to prefer vegetable protein (which is less expensive) over animal protein hence soya mince and beans are prescribed instead of red meat, chicken and pork. At times this choice is at odds with children's food preferences. Vegetable proteins are inexpensive in comparison to animal proteins and yet they are not what children prefer.

In the previous feeding programme at School X, learners were served the same meal every day which, in most cases, was soya mince and cabbage (Ms E, 2011). The learners grew to resent the meal and still harbour a deep dislike of soya mince which has

presented the cooks and principal with a challenge. If they serve soya mince, the learners will not eat it and it goes to waste which defeats the purpose of feeding. Whereas, if the school feeds learners meat, it violates the recommendations of district officials who monitor the programme. Ms A, a senior district official, indicated during an interview that donors were discouraged from donating meat and meat products to schools because of the risk of contamination (Ms A, 2011). Yet meat is highly popular with the learners and 80% of the learners interviewed said that chicken and rice is their favourite meal.

Most schools cannot afford meat because they do not have a relationship with a partner such as School X and School Y do. Indeed, it is only because the donor supplies a monthly transfer for food that these schools are able to augment the insufficient goods supplied by government as well as purchase meat. Meat is a welcome addition and learners thoroughly enjoy the varied nature of the meals (Ms G, 2011; Ms N, 2011). This debate points to the complex nature of the programme. It is not a simple task to feed such a large number of learners with individual tastes and preferences all within a limited budget. Yet the meat issue is one government should consider because it makes a real difference in children's lives and may have greater ramifications than anticipated.

Food gardens – the third of the three strands of the NSNP (the other two being school feeding and nutrition education) – is a somewhat neglected but crucial concept allied to nutrition education. As is evident from School X, gardens are important because they are used to teach learners how to grow healthy produce as well as the value of growing one's own produce. These skills are transferred to the adults around them and so whole communities gain skills that assist them to maintain a healthy diet. Communities also learn what kinds of crops to grow as part of a healthy lifestyle.

At School X and School Y, the principal and garden staff decided which crops to grow on the available land at the school, with consideration for the produce needed in the kitchen. The gardens were then created and now are maintained. Learners witness the ground staff working on the gardens and learn about the planting cycle experientially and by incident when they play in the schoolyard at break time. In some schools, such

as School X, interested learners are part of the environment committee which is an extracurricular group involving teachers, the principal, interested learners and the ground staff. Through the committee, learners are involved in the planting cycle and learn about plant types, care, pests, harvesting and other relevant topics.

Sometimes, based on the initiative of the principal and teachers, learners can go on outings to receive training and learn more about the gardens. Members of the environment committee at School X attended a conference in Tzaneen in 2010 where they learnt about planting as well as recycling (Ms S, 2011). The team came back to the school enthusiastic about recycling and instituted recycling at the school. The children involved in these activities got other children involved and so knowledge and enthusiasm spread. For example, the school held a competition in which learners had to build objects from recycled materials.

Ms S, a teacher on the environment committee, suggested that learners in urban areas are deprived of playing in nature and being able to connect with the land (Ms S, 2011). The environment committee goes some way to addressing this gap. It is also useful in that community members consult the school, especially the ground staff, and use them as experts to promote the successful implementation of gardens outside the school. Ms E, the principal, anecdotally asserts that parents living around the school have seen what is possible and are motivated to try similar projects at home (Ms E, 2011). Community members have learnt that success is possible. Some people previously have complained about the quality of the soil in the area and used this as an excuse as to why they cannot plant crops. The school successfully maintains a garden and so this has been disproven. In addition, adults are aware of the produce their children eat at school and so they know what crops can be grown and in which season. All of these factors promote food gardens as a means towards a healthy diet and lifestyle.

This chapter has indicated that the NSNP is used by government to educate and empower communities. Learners are educated in the school setting and in time they may also receive necessary and explicit nutrition education. Yet this form of education can occur subliminally through the example set by the cooks and the nutritious, balanced

and colourful meals they serve. Education and empowerment spread further into the community via the cooks who are parents of learners who would be otherwise unemployed. Cooks receive vocational and interpersonal skills which empower them to seek and retain employment elsewhere once their contract with the school concludes. This process promotes economic growth through reduction in unemployment rates. Finally, community members are also benefitted by the programme. Local community members receive knowledge via the parents who are cooks and receive hope and confidence by witnessing what is possible as a result of the schools' food gardens. Other community members have the opportunity to become service providers for the NSNP which also improves economic development in the country. In the following chapter, we will explore how the NSNP, and its menu, serve as a support mechanism for struggling communities.

Figure 14
The main food garden at School X with the dining hall in the background on the right

Figure 15
Another food garden at School X (children are acutely aware that they are not allowed into the garden)

Chapter 6

The NSNP as support mechanism

The NSNP's menu is a tangible contract that represents what government (through the school) is able to do to support communities most in need and least able to help themselves. Thus the menu, and more broadly the NSNP, is an important safety net for communities at risk of marginalisation and despair. Children are able to survive a little better than they would have and parents enjoy some of the benefit of the programme through employment opportunities, take-home rations that children bring home at the end of each school term as well as the comfort of knowing that government is able to feed their children when they cannot.

The programme is a form of social support in two ways: through the impact that it makes on those it involves, and through the opportunities it provides to those involved and those who become involved via partnerships or donor relationships. The fact that the programme directly reaches children who are in need makes an impact on their daily lives as well as their futures. Short-term hunger is alleviated by the daily meals, which means that learners are able to concentrate better in class and improve academically. As a result, their chances of progressing further in school are heightened. Similarly, if learners remain in the schooling system for several years, potential problems with long-term hunger and malnutrition are circumvented. Moreover, the opportunities created by the programme address community needs – a significant form of social support. Employment opportunities for parents, tender opportunities for service providers and the chance to gain skills in food production that the programme offers all speak to communities' need for economic independence and food security.

Each level of government has a specific role to play as support mechanisms in the programme. DBE has the responsibility of creating the fourteen basic menus from which each province generates its own menu. It is DBE's task to guide the programme in the best way forward, to ensure that enough resources are available to make

administration of the programme feasible and to report on the programme's successes and challenges. This role may seem far from the everyday experience within schools yet decisions made at this level ensure that safety nets are in place and adequate so that tangible help reaches those who need it. Provincial departments guide the administration of the programme at provincial level and each province has its particular foibles and challenges. This level of management is again fairly removed from day to day issues in schools yet it can make a difference where particular districts are poorly managed or where partnerships affect the entire province.

District offices are at the other end of the scale, dealing mostly with day to day concerns and knowing very little about future plans or larger concerns. Yet the district office has the most potential to offer as support to schools and the community. District officials have the responsibility to monitor and evaluate schools' performance with regards to the programme, however they are also charged with the task of remediating wayward management of the programme and to offer support towards improved service. It is also the district's task to disseminate information concerning the NSNP and to ensure that schools receive this information timeously and adhere to new requirements.

Ms V, a district official, described the relationship between the provincial department and the district during her interview (Ms V, 2011). Most of the district officials are young interns who are idealistic and full of enthusiasm. They (and Ms V is exemplary of this trend) become bogged down and frustrated by the bureaucracy which prevents them from effecting real change and develop a negative attitude towards their work and the programme. They have a genuine desire to do their jobs well since they wish to impress their employers and to progress professionally yet they are sent the subtle message by national government that their positions are not of value. The system thereby defeats its own ends.

Ms V indicated that the GDE expects district officials to visit schools on a regular basis. Officials have a monitoring tool which they fill out during each visit that contains criteria such as cleanliness of the kitchen, condition of the equipment, condition of the storeroom, organisation of the NSNP file and so on. The monitoring tool is completed

during each visit and comments are made for follow-up. Officials then spend one day a week compiling reports which are sent to the GDE on all the schools they monitored during the week. Officials are also required to complete a monthly report which summarises their visits and findings for the month. Ms V indicated that the GDE also sends through documentation (such as circulars and policy documents) which is disseminated to the schools. Thus the district office is the link between the school and government and has the potential to make a considerable impact on both.

In practise, however, this is not the case. District officials feel unable to effect real change in schools because they have reams of bureaucratic paperwork to fill out which prevents them from practically assisting schools to improve (Ms V, 2011). District officials also do not receive permission and guidance from the GDE quickly enough to support schools adequately. Ms V expressed frustration that officials are expected to create report after report without ever receiving replies to the suggestions and requests for help made by schools. She concluded that officials do not wish to invest too much of themselves or the district's resources into the programme because a mutually beneficial relationship between schools and government does not exist. Officials are frustrated by bureaucracy, endless paperwork and few results (Ms V, 2011). The NSNP menu is only effective as part of a system that acknowledges the valuable role played by districts and the crucial importance of ensuring that transfer of knowledge and support from government to schools is as easy as possible for district officials to navigate.

Organisational problems aside, the programme's impact on learners is immense (Ms E, 2011; Ms F, 2011; Ms G, 2011; Ms H, 2011; Ms Q, 2011; Ms S, 2011; Mr T, 2011). The effect is reflected in several areas in learners' lives including their health, academic work and life skills. The donor agreement with School X included measurements of height for age, weight for height and weight for age which are indicators of nutrition levels commonly used in research in South Africa (Kallman, 2005). The measurements were taken in February 2010, just after the programme had been properly initiated, and again in February 2011.

In a report that makes reference to the random sample of learners from School X who were assessed, the dietician asserts that, "[c]omparing 2010 and 2011, all the children had an increase in weight besides 1 child (male) who stayed the same weight. This could have been due to illness, home food insecurity or other reasons" (Asmal, 2011: 5) and that "the children irrespective of gender, have all had an increase in BMI. This indicates they have all grown in height and picked up weight. The extra breakfast and balanced lunch, together with home food security and meals at home may have played a big part in this. All the children had an increase in height" (2011: 6). She concludes in the report that,

> The school feeding project is making a difference to the children attending the schools. They are able to concentrate better and from the increase in weight and heights, also shows that it adds to their deficient diet, making it an indispensable method of giving them high quality carbohydrates, fat and protein sources needed for good brain and body development. Healthy eating patterns in childhood and adolescence promote optimal childhood health, growth, and intellectual development; prevent immediate health problems, such as iron deficiency anemia, obesity, eating disorders, and dental caries [tooth decay]; and may prevent long-term health problems, such as coronary heart disease, cancer, and stroke. In addition, school health programs can help children and adolescents attain full educational potential and good health by providing them with the skills, social support, and environmental reinforcement they need to adopt long-term, healthy eating behaviors (2011: 7).

It is clear from the report above that the dietician who performed the assessments was very pleased with the results. Thus, a tangible effect on learners' health is evident as a result of the programme. Moreover, some learners at the school are chronically ill and regular nutritious meals are beneficial to their health and the effectiveness of treatment they receive. This is evident in the drop in absenteeism experienced by School X (Ms E, 2011; Mr T, 2011).

As yet, no longitudinal research exists on the impact and biological benefits of the programme but plans are in place at the DBE to begin a study of this nature in the near future (Ms C, 2011; Ms W, 2011). The study is necessary to ascertain if the programme really is having a long-lasting effect on the nutrition levels of youth in general as well as to measure the micronutrients targeted by the programme. Yet a study of this nature would be difficult to do with so few schools performing effectively and the data are

likely to be misleading and open to manipulation. The results of such a study would help to inform menu creation in the future and will allow for the programme to be more focused and more effective.

The programme impacts on the school environment and children's academic achievements too. The principal of School X provided anecdotal evidence during an interview which indicates that the school is a pleasant environment now that the programme is an established part of the school day. She also reports that the programme has improved school attendance, improved children's ability to concentrate and perform tasks in class and has reduced bullying in the school drastically (Ms E, 2011). This is corroborated by several teachers. Ms S, a teacher at School X indicates that, because of the meals, children have energy, are able to think and do activities and pay attention in class (Ms S, 2011). Similarly, Mr T reports that the meals help children to pay attention, reduce absenteeism, and improve overall classroom interaction and behaviour. Before, some children would faint during assembly because they were not able to stand for long periods of time (Mr T, 2011). A learner, Ms N, corroborates the teachers' insights. She asserted that she is glad for the meals as they help her to concentrate in class (Ms N, 2011).

In many cases, the food learners receive at school is the only meal they have during the day. Breakfast (of soft flavoured porridge) was instituted once it became clear that children who did not eat dinner the evening before struggled to get through the morning before break time. Some children eat as many as four cups of porridge in the mornings because they are so hungry (Ms G, 2011) but the porridge breakfast gives them enough energy to see them through to lunch. If the programme did not exist, there is a high chance that the children would not eat at all or eat insufficient food to allow them to perform simple tasks in the classroom. The compound effect of years of being unable to incrementally improve cognitive functioning and succeed academically is high drop-out rates, high teenage pregnancy rates and persistent unemployment – all of which hamper social development.

The third way in which the NSNP has made an impact on children's lives is through the life skills the programme has given them. Every learner who eats lunch on a regular basis is exposed to a nutritious and balanced meal. The subtle message is sent that a good meal consists of protein, carbohydrates and vegetables and that all three should be present on the plate. They also learn that it is good to use a variety of products and that variety is important. Moreover, children learn that colour and aroma are important and that the plate of food should be attractive. The children have internalised the types of foods that are good for them and what are viable meal combinations.

During interviews with learners, I asked what kinds of foods they eat. Learners as young as Grade 3 named all three food groups simultaneously (Ms I, 2011; Ms J, 2011). One learner even indicated that her favourite meal is chicken, rice and vegetables (Ms I, 2011). In addition to the (limited) nutrition education learners receive as part of the curriculum, children who serve on the environment committee have gained first-hand experience in growing and tending crops which is another life skill they will be able to draw on in future. It is a skill that ensures they are able to feed themselves and their families thus the impact of the programme is felt beyond the classroom and the school environment. It is taken into the future and used for good then.

The impact on the school is equally significant. According to the principal of School X, the programme has made managing the school much easier (Ms E, 2011). Because children's behaviour has improved, teachers find it easier to discipline children and experience better results. Also, the learners' behaviour is not as problematic as it has been in the past. Teachers used to bring particular children, who continually misbehaved and undermined the teacher, to the principal who would have to deal with them. She found it a challenge in addition to her existing administrative tasks. This created a vicious cycle of stress where the learner would play up, the teacher would be pushed to breaking point, she would place additional pressure on the principal by referring the child to her, and little would be resolved positively. The principal reports that this problem no longer exists in the classroom because the children enjoy attending school and are able to focus their attention on learning. Bullying has also reduced.

The principal's sentiments are echoed by the coordinator of the programme at School X who is also a teacher. She has been employed at the school for over thirty years and has seen a difference in the children as a result of the programme. She indicates that teachers' jobs are easier because absenteeism has improved. Absenteeism causes problems for learners to comprehend the work covered in class and keep up with the rest of the class. Children are motivated to come to school because of the meals, hence absenteeism is improved and the general functioning of the school is improved as a result. She also believes she has seen an improvement in learners' marks as a result of the programme (Ms U, 2011).

The improvement in behaviour and stress levels at the school has produced an improvement in morale. The school environment is ordered and peaceful and this has had an impact on the learners' academic prospects. Teachers are able to focus their attention on teaching instead of spending the majority of their time disciplining children. The management staff are able to focus on streamlining the systems used in the school to ensure that optimum performance occurs. It also frees up time for the principal to focus on plans for the future of the school and to pursue potential partners and donors. The impact of the programme on the school is significant.

The positive impact the programme has had on School X in turn has provided it with the opportunity to make a positive impact on the community. The incentive offered by the daily meal has improved attendance which ensures that children are being looked after and are doing something productive with their time. It has also kept them off the streets, which ensures fewer potential instances of vandalism, petty crime and in older children, drug addiction, pregnancy, and so on. It has also allowed the school to be better integrated into the life of the community. Integration takes various forms, including employment for parents working as cooks, distribution of food via the take-home rations system as well as community upliftment through information sharing and skills development.

Parents are connected to the day-to-day routine and concerns of the school if they are employed by the school as cooks or ground staff. Parents are involved in other ways

too. A while after the gardens had been set up at School X, it became clear that rats were destroying the crops. Rat infestation is a common problem in the area and homeowners generally use rat poison to counter the rodents. The school's commitment to ecologically sound farming methodologies meant that they could not use rat poison to get rid of the rats. The school was forced to find an environmentally friendly method of pest prevention.

Subsequently, a partner organisation supplied three baby owls to combat the rodents and provided training on the proper care of the owls. There were problems with the owls and it was determined that the owls were eating rats that were contaminated with poison. The school called a community meeting to inform parents of the owl project which provided the opportunity to talk about the community's habit of using rat poison to kill rats. Once dialogue was opened up between the school and the community on this issue, a partnership was forged in which understanding between the school and the community improved. The community stopped using rat poison and have benefitted from the owls since the birds feed on rats in community gardens as well as the school gardens. Thus the impact of the programme on the school makes way for the school to impact the community.

One of the greatest impacts the NSNP has had on School X is the awards and accolades it has brought the school. Not only do the awards generate prestige, they also create a sense of pride in the school and bolster the school's reputation. Success breeds more success and, as a result, the school has attracted the interest of numerous donors and partner organisations. This has had a positive impact on the school because it has improved the knowledge and skills of learners and staff alike. The owl project and the Tzaneen excursion are relevant examples. In addition, the school won the top award in 2010 in the NSNP Best Schools Awards. The award has brought research teams to the school and has set the school up as a beacon of best practice. Several corporate partners have emerged as a result of the school's success and donors are willing to support the school because they know their contribution will make an impact on the community. So awards are key because they affirm the leadership of the school, create models that

other schools aim to replicate, and direct funding and support for the school to maintain and achieve new goals.

The NSNP has an impact on the lives of the learners' parents too. The government, through the school, has recognised parents' needs and their inability to feed their children. The NSNP coordinator at School Y admits that she knows of parents who take their children to the local dumping site to look for food if the children are hungry (Ms Q, 2011). It is clear that there is need for the programme and the impact the programme makes in assisting parents to feed their children is significant.

Similarly, because of the connection between the school and parents that the NSNP has fostered, parents know that they have somewhere to reach out to when they are unable to cope and provide adequately for their children. One of the cooks at School X (who is also a parent) is evidence of this. She reports that her daughter used not to eat at home but since joining the school she eats with vigour and has begun to gain weight (Ms G, 2011). It comforts Ms G to know her daughter is receiving healthy food every day. She also indicated that children eat food products they wouldn't normally eat just because they are so grateful for the meal. The kitchen supervisor at School X reports that the learners do not enjoy school holidays because they do not receive a meal each day during the vacation (Ms H, 2011). Parents receive some assistance in caring for their children through the programme and the emotional, financial and psychological impact is positive and significant.

The economic impact is significant too when one considers the employment opportunities created by the programme. Although individual parents are employed only for a year at a time and receive a small stipend of R600 per month (for a seven- or eight-hour work day), the impact of employing hundreds of parents (on aggregate) makes a crucial difference to communities across the country. The impact spreads further than the financial gain. The skills and experience parents receive working for the school have a positive impact on future employment opportunities. Parents are able to apply for work they may not have been otherwise qualified for because of their previous experience at the school.

Thus it is clear that the impact on the community in general is noteworthy when the programme is implemented successfully. The programme cares for children when their parents are not able to do so adequately; it assists parents financially and provides them with skills and experience; and it encourages the community by showing them that great things are possible despite limited resources and hardship. The principal of School X believes that the school has made an immense impact on the community (Ms E, 2011). The school is known for its neatness and the high level of neatness required of learners. Similarly, people who live within the vicinity of the school have made increasing efforts to clean up their yards and to neaten their houses in line with the high level of neatness and maintenance presented by the school. Teachers involved with the environment committee indicate that parents are encouraged by the school's success to grow their own crops and report that some parents are even recycling (Ms S, 2011; Mr T, 2011). Therefore the school has raised standards in the area and has encouraged community members to see themselves, as well as their community, in a more positive and hopeful light. Change is promoted and it is spearheaded by the school.

Conversely, School Y's poor administration of the programme has ensured that it has little positive impact on learners and parents and, quite likely, will not receive further support from corporate partners. This means that the school will continue to be unable to meet the needs of those the programme serves. An equal impact, although negative in this case, is made by the ineffective management of the programme. The children at School Y do not enjoy the opportunities given to learners just a kilometre away and do not know the full capacity of the programme. Figure 10 on page 50 shows a beautiful garden at the school. Yet, Figure 11 on page 50 and Figure 17 on page 85 indicate that the school grounds are unwelcoming and poorly maintained.

There are some positives that the school has been able to attain. Learners are fed a healthy and safe meal most days of the week and mostly on time barring time management problems (Ms Q, 2011). Parents are happy that their children are being fed and they are grateful for the take-home rations (Ms Q, 2011; Mr P, 2011). Some parents are employed as cooks and, as with School X, they are receiving a small stipend which assists them to support their families. The problem with School Y's implementation of

the programme lies in its organisation. Small details are not monitored and carried out correctly which has a large impact on the effectiveness of the programme. For example, when I visited, I saw numerous bags of porridge stacked in the storeroom which were unused. I was told that the school only served lunch yet I knew that School X served porridge for breakfast. I confirmed this with a district official (Ms V, 2011). The school is cutting corners by not preparing breakfast in the morning.

The principal's understanding of the programme's sustainability at School Y is questionable. He does not have any other donors or partners working in the school besides the international donor who funded the dining hall. In addition, he believes that the bakery is generating a lot of income for the school which is put into savings and which will be used to fund the programme once the support of the international donor draws to a close (Mr P, 2011). It is difficult to see how this is possible. The donor supplies R24 000 per month (School Y asserts that it is R30 000) to augment the supplies delivered by government. The bakery would have to sell very large volumes of products every day to make a profit. Yet when I visited the school fewer than twenty products were being prepared in the kitchen. Moreover, the community around School Y is even more impoverished than the community around School X. This means that people in the area have very little disposable income to spend on food from the bakery. How the principal believes the bakery will make the programme sustainable is unclear.

As mentioned previously, a triangulated relationship exists between government, schools and partners or donors. According to Ms W, a senior official at the GDE, government is concerned with nurturing relationships with partners. She indicates that partnerships are highly encouraged and that there is a unit within the DBE that deals specifically with partnerships (Ms W, 2011). Moreover, she would prefer it if schools and donors were upfront about partnerships that they have entered into for several reasons. If the department is aware of the relationship, they are able to ensure that services are not duplicated. For example, the supply of kitchenettes is not undertaken by two donors in one province and other provinces remain lacking in this area.

Government also needs to know about partnerships in order to be able to keep accurate records. For example, in the case where an organisation donates kitchen equipment to a school, the discrepancy between the inventory on the monitoring tool and the equipment in the kitchen needs to be explained. Declaration of partnerships also helps the provincial or national department to nurture the relationship and use the knowledge and experience gained in future projects.

Regardless of whether the partnership is long-term or temporary, partnerships and donor relationships are a substantial way in which the private sector offers support to communities who do not have the means to help themselves effectively. In a sense, private companies are forced to contribute to social upliftment through their CSI obligations yet it can be a sincere way in which corporations help to improve socioeconomic conditions in the country. Using an established and far-reaching programme such as the NSNP seems to be a wise choice. Yet simply supplying funding or training does not mean that the success of School X will be replicated. As is evident from this study, leadership is a crucial element of the success of the programme and donor and partner relations are only effective when that element is secure.

Figure 16
A delivery at School Y is unloaded next to the storeroom

Figure 17
Offices and classrooms at School Y appear neat from a distance but up close it is evident they are rundown

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This research report has looked at the functioning of the NSNP and I have shown that the programme manifests itself in three forms: as a directive, as an education and empowerment tool and as a support mechanism. In addition, we have learned the process followed during the creation and implementation of the menu. Generic options for menus are created at the national level which are adapted and adopted at provincial government level. The menu decided upon by the provincial education department is subsequently rolled out to schools via the district office. The programme is monitored by district officials who report continually to the provincial education department. In turn, information is reported to DBE which plans and organises on the basis of overall trends.

Several points have been learned as a result of this study. Primarily, it is evident that the NSNP is a large and complex entity to organise. It serves millions of people across the country most days of the year and requires large amounts of resources and effective communication. As has been demonstrated, the effectiveness of the implementation is questionable yet it cannot be denied that the task is arduous. Secondly, it is clear that leadership is a crucial element in the success of the programme and one that poses a considerable problem in terms of implementation. Leadership at all levels needs to be effective but perhaps it is most necessary at the school level. Capacity is lacking in some cases (School Y is relevant here) and much can and should be done to improve this.

The importance of community involvement in the NSNP has also been demonstrated in the study. Although the programme is aimed at learners and affects school staff because they are part of the implementation process, community members have an impact on the programme and it impacts them as well. Parents are employed as cooks at the school and their contribution is enormous and highly necessary to the daily functioning of the

NSNP. Similarly, community members are employed as gardeners who help to produce food which the children eat.

There are other ways in which the community is involved. They adopt ideas and projects initiated by the school and in so doing become involved in the life of the school. The development of food gardens in private households around School X is an example of this. Also, behaviour of community members which affects the school is addressed and this draws them into the sphere of influence of the NSNP. The example at School X of the owl project is evidence of this. Thus communities have an important relationship with the programme which can serve to strengthen it and make it more effective whilst simultaneously benefitting the community.

Finally, it has been demonstrated in this study that partners and donors are crucial to fulfilling the NSNP's mandate. Government has resources which it spreads as evenly and fairly as possible but all the needs of individual schools cannot be met by government alone. Donors and partners add that bit extra which helps schools to make the programme successful. The international donor and local partner involved with School X and School Y demonstrates this point. The donor supplies funding which allows the schools to make their meals even more tasty and nutritious than expected by DBE. In addition, the donor has enough capital available to fund the construction of dining halls at the schools. Government simply does not make funding available to improve infrastructure and so partners are able to do what government does not. This does not compete with government's plans or implementation, it merely improves the system and makes it easier and more comfortable for schools to run. Partners and donors make a tangible difference in learners' lives and their contribution should not be dismissed.

What is the significance of what has been learned? The study has explored the relationship between education and food security and how these aspects contribute towards development. The connection between education and food security, and development in turn, holds the significance of what has been learned. It has been demonstrated in this study that the NSNP has a considerable impact on food security. It

counteracts the biological effects of a lack of food security and malnutrition that is common amongst the children that the programme serves. It also acts against food insecurity by providing take-home rations which assist households that are threatened by a lack of regular meals. Finally, it prevents long-term food insecurity by providing learners and the community with knowledge and skills to grow their own crops in food gardens.

The study has also demonstrated the positive correlation between the NSNP and education. Regular meals improve attendance and behaviour in schools and assist children to perform better in class. They have more energy to engage cognitively. The programme is now established in primary and high schools which means that children will be supported throughout their academic careers to achieve academically. In addition, an increase in explicit nutrition education in the curriculum will educate learners in practical life skills which will benefit them and their children in the future.

The positive relationship the NSNP has on education and food security underline its place in relation to development. Education and food security are two areas that are key to social and economic development in South Africa because they directly influence human capital. Countries require a skilled workforce in order to grow economically and the economy relies on the education system to produce labour which is skilled in relevant ways in order to fulfil demand. Thus an effective education system is imperative to the success of a country's economy.

Education is also inherently beneficial and is a social good worth pursuing simply for its own sake, as Sen advocates. Similarly, food security is crucial to the health of a country's population which, in turn, affects its labour force. If the majority of the population (who should be part of the active workforce) are unable to work due to illness caused by malnutrition, this has devastating effects for the country's economy because it reduces the size of the workforce.

The NSNP seeks to reduce barriers to education and food security and so it is directly linked to development. The NSNP is one amongst a range of strategies (many of which

were laid out in the RDP in 1994) that government uses to develop the country socially and economically. The programme enables the freedoms that Sen advocates in the capabilities approach, such as the freedom to education and economic activity, and so it is importantly interrelated with development. It enables these freedoms by ensuring that learners do not experience barriers that prevent the freedoms. For example, poor nutrition can lead to ill health which would prevent a child from attending school. Poor attendance will lead to knowledge and skill gaps and could present the learner with difficulties in gaining employment later in life. This affects the individual's economic activity. Thus the NSNP is a gateway to greater enjoyment of the substantive freedoms that Sen describes.

The menu created as part of the NSNP is evidence of government's commitment to nutrition education. The menu is constructed in order to provide recipients with a healthy and balanced meal and inadvertently teaches those who eat it on a regular basis what constitutes a healthy and balanced meal. The menu calls for a range of products and variety within the menu prescribed for the week. This teaches learners that it is important to eat lots of different meals and a variety of foods on a regular basis. If the learner is exposed to the varied nature of the menu for a long period of time, they will begin to accept that variety is an important part of a healthy diet. This is information they will carry with them for the rest of their lives, particularly if they continue to eat NSNP meals during secondary schooling. They use this information in their daily lives and it informs the nutrition choices they make for their future families. The little bit of nutrition education they currently receive is used in addition to the lived daily experience of healthy eating. If more and better nutrition education is included in the curriculum in future, learners will be armed with even more knowledge in order to make informed and sagacious food choices.

The impact of the programme is felt not only by learners but by their parents and broader communities too. The knowledge and experience gained while working in the kitchen can be spread to other mothers in the community which will improve the health and safety of the community in general. The cooks become experts who dispense reliable and accurate information to other community members. Hence the need for

regular and good quality training. Knowledge spreads out across the community and promotes a healthier lifestyle for all.

Through the food gardens, and particularly within a forum such as the environment committee at School X, learners are able to learn about plants and planting know-how. This is something they were unlikely to be exposed to otherwise. The children also have the opportunity to do some of the work themselves and to experience the joy of seeing a process through to its successful completion. So improved knowledge and skills are a product of the committee.

Despite all the problems and miscommunication inherent in the NSNP, it is difficult to imagine how the programme and its implementation could be simpler. Regardless of the number of people involved and whether or not their engagement with the process is effective, the programme attempts the mammoth task of feeding more than 8 million children almost every day of the year. It is a colossal undertaking.

This research suggests that the programme would benefit if district officials were given more import in the implementation process. They are the partner with the most to contribute and yet they are often the most impotent link in the chain. District officials monitor individual schools on a regular basis and become familiar with schools' particular contexts. It seems reasonable that they should be given more authority to effect real and immediate change rather than fill in countless forms that are passed on to a higher power and which, both they and the school know, probably will not yield results as quickly as they are needed. Perhaps senior managers of the NSNP could effect real and positive change by empowering district officials and ensuring communication with them is regular and that it is clear to officials that their complaints and concerns are taken seriously and are dealt with as quickly as possible.

Indeed, the programme deserves to be invested in widely because of the potential effect it may have on social and economic development for the country. It may be the case that, if hundreds of thousands of children receive a nutritious meal on a continual basis for twenty years, on balance the general health and nutrition levels of South African

youth will improve. This may have an effect on children's academic abilities, employment opportunities and future potential burden on the health care system. This in turn may have an effect on the country's level of social and economic development.

Similarly, partnerships are advisable because of the social support they offer and the beneficial effect it may have in the future. Donors and partners seem to come alongside what schools are already doing and offer advice, guidance and in some cases funding, to improve what the programme is already achieving. Perhaps, if long-term relationships with these organisations can be fostered, the impact can be considerable and will be very welcome assistance to a department already stretching its resources as far as possible. Moreover, some children who attend schools may make a success of their academic careers and subsequently give back to their communities.

This topic is of value because it blends two significant issues facing South Africa currently (food security and education) and creates a relationship between them and social development. The effect of children's nutrition on their school attendance and performance is contested yet there are few people who would deny that it is a crucial and urgent social issue. The future of our country relies on giving today's children the best possible opportunities we are able to and proper nutrition is non-negotiable.

Figure 18
Learners at School X enjoy lunch (they are not allowed to talk during meals – a rule that is flagrantly ignored)

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Appendix 1

List of interviews

Number	Pseudonym	Organisation	Position
1	Ms A	Ekurhuleni South District Office	Senior District Official
2	Ms B	A global humanitarian organisation	Manager
3	Ms C	DBE	NSNP Senior Official
4	Ms D	Massmart	Group Sustainability Manager (CSI)
5	Ms E	School X	Principal
6	Ms F	School X	Cook
7	Ms G	School X	Cook
8	Ms H	School X	Kitchen Supervisor
9	Ms I	School X	Learner
10	Ms J	School X	Learner
11	Ms K	School X	Learner
12	Ms L	School X	Learner
13	Ms M	School X	Learner
14	Ms N	School X	Learner
15	Ms O	International donor's local partner	Executive Director
16	Ms E	School X	Principal
17	Mr P	School Y	Principal
18	Ms Q	School Y	NSNP Coordinator
19	Ms R	School Y	Deputy Principal
20	Ms S	School X	Teacher
21	Mr T	School X	Teacher
22	Ms U	School X	Teacher
23	Ms V	Ekurhuleni South District Office	Intern
24	Ms W	Gauteng Department of Education	NSNP Senior Provincial Official

Appendix 2

Interview schedules

Government

1. What is your role in the [organisation's name] and what are your professional responsibilities in this capacity?

2. How many schools are part of the feeding scheme programme?

3. Which schools are involved? What is the distribution (primary vs secondary)?

4. Where does funding for the programme come from?

5. What is the annual budget and cost of the programme?

6. How are schools chosen to be part of the programme?

7. How are children chosen to be part of the programme? Does their current nutrition/home circumstance impact on them being chosen?

8. How are feeding schemes administrated? Are they outsourced and run through a tender process or run by permanent employees of the DBE?

9. Who decides what is on the menu?

10. What factors influence the choice of the food offered on the menu?

11. Are stakeholders permitted to comment on the food served? Which stakeholders can do so (if any)? Is there a process to follow? Who are the comments directed towards?

12. Are you aware of any comments that have been made? What kinds of comments have been made?

13. Does the programme have an effect on learners educationally? If so, how?

14. Does the programme have an effect on learners' nutrition? If so, how?

15. Does the programme have an effect on learners psychologically and emotionally? If so, how?

16. Do schools have responsibilities in the programme? Is that their only form of involvement?

17. How is the broader community impacted by the programme?

Organisations

1. What is your role in [organisation's name] and what are your professional responsibilities in this capacity?

2. How is [organisation's name] involved in the NSNP?

3. How did the partnership come to be?

4. What resources does the partnership require from [organisation's name]? (Financial, stock, labour etc)

5. How are these resources distributed and managed?

6. What are the factors (positive and/or negative) that affect the partnership?

7. What are the success and challenges experienced as a result of the partnership?

Parents

1. How many children do you have?
2. Are they all at school?
3. What schools do they go to?
4. Who else lives with you?
5. What does your child/children love to eat? What are their favourite foods?
6. How did you find out your child/children was going to be part of the feeding scheme at school?
7. How long has your child/children been getting meals at schools? How many months or years?
8. What does your child/children get to eat every day at school?
9. What does your child/children think of the food they get?
10. Has the menu ever changed?
11. Do you know who decides what is on the menu?
12. Do you have to contribute towards the feeding scheme at all? Do you pay money or anything like that?
13. Has the school ever given you information about the feeding scheme? (Has it called a meeting or sent out a letter?)
14. Do you talk about the food your children get with other parents?
15. Do you feel that you can make comments on the feeding scheme? Who can you direct them to?
16. How has the feeding scheme affected your child/children?
17. Does the feeding scheme help you as a parent? If so, how?
18. Does the feeding scheme help other parents too? If so, how?
19. Is the community involved in the feeding scheme?
    a. Do community members get involved in the school kitchen?
    b. Do community members supply food from gardens they tend?
    c. Are there any organisations that are involved? (businesses, churches, NGOs)

20. Can you describe your child/children's size? Are they taller and fatter than other children or smaller and thinner?

21. Does anyone in your household receive a grant each month? If so, who and what kind of grant?

Learners

1. What grade are you in?
2. How many people live in your house?
3. What is your favourite food to eat?
4. Do you like the food you get to eat at school? Why or why not?
5. What kinds of meals do you get?
6. Do you get the same meals all the time? Is that ok or do you wish they would change?
7. Do you ever take food home from school?
8. Who do you think makes the food?
9. Is there a garden at school where they grow food that you eat? If so, do you help look after the garden?
10. Do the people you live with ever ask you about the food you get at school?

Appendix 3

Information sheets and consent forms

Participant information sheet – Adult – English

Hi

I am Catherine Langsford. I am studying towards a Master's degree in Development Studies at Wits University. I am interested in finding out about feeding schemes in schools and I would be very grateful if you would agree to answer a few questions about them.

I am carrying out this research to understand how feeding schemes work in South Africa and I really hope that my research will be used to make helpful recommendations to the relevant authorities and organisations. The results of my study will be released in the research report I have to compile as part of the degree. I am conducting interviews as well as analysing policy documents as part of my research.

I have chosen you for an interview because I believe that you have experience of how feeding schemes work on a day-to-day basis. I believe you will be able to offer me an accurate picture of the situation. I also believe that your ideas and thoughts are important because of your knowledge of feeding schemes.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. I would like to invite you to take part as I think it will be an interesting and helpful exercise to all concerned but you will not be forced in any way to take part. If you choose not to take part you will not be affected in any way whatsoever. If you agree to take part, you can stop at any time if you do not want to carry on being involved. If you refuse to take part or stop at any point during the study, you will not be affected in any way and you will not be discriminated against.

All the information you choose to give me will be kept confidential. I will not use your name in the research report and no one will be able to link you to the answers you give. Only I will have access to the linked information.

The interview will take approximately 30 minutes to complete during which I will be asking you a few questions. I ask that you are as open and honest in your answers as possible and tell me what circumstances are really like, not what they should be. If you feel a question is inappropriate or too sensitive, you are free not to answer it.

If possible, I would like to report back during a meeting on the findings of my study once it is finished and spend some time discussing the results and what it means for stakeholders.

If you have any questions about this study, you can contact me on 083 953 2144, by fax on 011 894 1759 or by email at cathlangsford@gmail.com.

Many thanks,

Catherine

Participant consent form – Adult – English

I _____ hereby agree to participate in Catherine Langsford's research on feeding schemes. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced to do so. I understand that I can stop the interview at any point if I don't want to continue and that this decision will not affect me negatively in any way.

The purpose of the study has been explained to me and I understand what I am expected to do as a participant. I acknowledge that I will not benefit personally (financially or in any other way) from the study.

I understand that my answers to the interview questions will remain confidential and that my details will remain anonymous. I understand that the only person who will see the unlinked data is the researcher and her supervisor.

I have been informed that, if possible, feedback on the findings of the study will be given to me once the research has been completed.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

Additional consent to audio recording

In addition to the above, I hereby agree to the audio recording of this interview for the purposes of data capture. I have been informed that information taken from the audio recording will remain confidential. I understand that the recordings will be kept in a locked cupboard for a minimum of seven years.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

Participant information sheet – Learner – English

Hi

My name is Catherine Langsford. I like books and reading.

I want to learn all about the food you get to eat at school. I have some questions to ask you about the food that you get and if you like it.

You can decide if you want to help me and then I will ask you the questions. It is ok if you don't want to help me. I won't get angry and you won't get into trouble.

I have asked the person you live with if it's ok that I ask you some questions.

If you say yes then I promise that I won't tell anyone what you say. You can say whatever you want because I'm not allowed to tell anyone.

Thank you!

Catherine

Participant consent form – Guardian – English

I _____ hereby agree to allow my child/ward _____ to participate in Catherine Langsford's research on feeding schemes. I understand that my child is participating freely and without being forced to do so. I understand that he/she can stop the interview at any point if she/he doesn't want to continue and that this decision will not affect him/her negatively in any way.

The purpose of the study has been explained to my child and me and I understand what he/she is expected to do as a participant. I acknowledge that we will not benefit personally (financially or in any other way) from the study.

I understand that my child/ward's answers to the interview questions will remain confidential and that his/her details will remain confidential. I understand that the only person who will see the unlinked data is the researcher and her supervisor.

I have been informed that, if possible, feedback on the findings of the study will be given to my child and me once the research has been completed.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

Additional consent to audio recording

In addition to the above, I hereby agree to the audio recording of the interview with my child/ward for the purposes of data capture. I have been informed that my child/ward will remain confidential and that information taken from the audio recording will remain confidential. I understand that the recordings will be kept in a locked cupboard for a minimum of seven years once the data capture and analysis process has been finished.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

Participant information sheet – Adult – Sesotho

Dumelang

Ke le Catherine Langsford ke ithutela lekala la thuto la ho fuputsa ka dijo la Master's degree ho hola ha thuto Wits University. Ke lakatsa ho tseba haholo mabapi le ho thusa dikolo hape nka ba motlotlo ha o ka dumela ho araba dipotso mabapi le yona.

Ke etsa dipatlisiso e le ho utlwisisa hore dithuso tsena disebetsa jwang mona Afrika Borwa. Ke tshepa hore dipatlisiso tsa ka ditla sebediswa ho etsa thuso e hlokahalang thlahisong eo ke tla e etsa, e tla sebediswa le ho batho ba ka hodimo le bahlophisi. Sepheto sa dithuto tsa ka se tlatswa repotong ke tshwanetseng ho e etsa jwalo ke karolo ya seo ke ithutelang sona. Ke tlo kopa hore re etse kopano le hlahobo le tumellano etlaba bopaki etlaba engwe ya dipatlisiso tsa ka.

Ke kgethile wena hore re kopane hobane ke kgolwa hore o na le tsebo le mabaka a hore dithuto tsena disebetsa jwang. Ke kgolwa hore o tla mpha kapa o tla njwetsa nnete le ditokiso tse bonahalang le setshwantsho sa taba, hape ke kgolwa hore dithlahiso tseo o dinahanong ke tsa bohlokwa hobane o tseba haholo ka dithuto tsena.

Ho nka karolo dithuto tsena ha hao ke ka ho itela. Ke rata ho o memela hore o nke kano. Ke nahana hore e tloba ntho e kgahlehang hape e nang le thuso boikwetliso kaofela bokgathallang empa wena ha o no hatellwa ka hohle hore o nke karolo. Haeba o kgetha ho senke karolo ha o no ba le ditlamorao tse mpe. Ieteng ha o dumela ho nka karolo, o kanna wa emisa nako engwe le engwe ha ebe o sa batle ho kenyelletswa. Leteng ha o hana ho nka karolo kapa o ikgula ka nako engwe le engwe nakong ya dithuto kapa dipatlisiso, ha onoba le ditla morao tse impe ebile ha o no tshwarwa hampe.

Bopaki bohle bo o tla mpha bona botla beuwa e le babohlokwa hape bopatuwe. Ha ke no sebedisa lebitso la hao dipatlisiso tse ke tlang ho fana ka tsona ha jwalo ha ho motho a tla bona hore dikarabo ditswa ho wena, ke nna feela a tla kgono hape a be le dikarabo.

Kopano ya rona etla nka metso e mashome a mararo feela moo ke tlang ho o botsa dipotsonyana feela. Ke rata hore o arabe dipotso tsa ka ka ho buleha le nnete feela, o njwetse hore ke lebelle eng tse tla etsahala, haeba o utlwa hore dipotso ha dihantle kapa ha o dirate o na le maikutlo a ho hana ho diaraba.

Ha ho kgonahala ke lakatsa ho kgutlela ho wena hore ke o bolelle ka moo ke fihlelletseng dipatlisisong tsa ke le hore dibolelang.

Ha o na le dipotso mabapi le dithuto tseo ke dietsang, o ka nletsetsa mohala ho 083 953 2144, kapa o fekesetse ho 011 894 1759, ka imeile ho cathlangsford@gmail.com.

Diteboho

Catherine

Participant consent form – Adult – Sesotho

Nna ke le _____ dumela hore ke tlo nka karolo dipatlisisong tsa dithuto tsa feeding schemes tsa Catherine Langsford. Ke utlisisa hore ke nka karolo mahala le hore haba nahatelle hore ke dinke. Ke utlwisisa hore nka emisa kopano ha ke batla, kapa ke sa battle ho tswella pele, hape hoo ha hoo ntshwara hampe.

Bohlokwa ba dithuto tsena se bohlalositswe ho nna hape ke ya utlwisisa hore ke lebelletseng jwalo ka monka karolo. Ke tseba hore ha ke tlo ntsha letho ho dithuto tsena.

Ke utlwisisa hore dikarabo tsa dipotso tsa kopano ha dino tsebahala le ditokomane tsa ka ha dino tsejwa. Ke utlwisisa hore motho a tla dibona ke mofuputsi le mothusi wa hae.

Ke jwetsitswe hore ha ho kgonahala ke tla fuwa dintlha tsa dithuto hang feela ha mofuputsi a qetile.

_____ _____

Bopaki ba mofuputsi Mohla

Ho ke nyelletswa ha rekoto

Ho ke nyelletswa ha rekoto, ke dumellana le hore e be teng kopanong ya rona mabapile le ditaba tsa rona. Ke jwetsitswe hore bopaki botla bolokwa. Ke utlwisisa hore bopaki bo tlo beuwa khabotong ho fihla nako e kalo ka dilemo tse supa.

_____ _____

Bopaki ba mofuputsi Mohla

Participant information sheet – Learner – Sesotho

Dumela

Lebitso la ka ke Catherine Langsford. Ke rata dibuka le ho bala.

Ke batla ho ithuta hahole ka dijo tseo le ditholang sekolo. Kena le dipotso ka dijo tseo le ditholang le hore le ya dirata na.

O tla bua haebe o batla ho nthusa ebe nna ke tla o botsa dipotso. Ke hantle le ha o sa batle ho thusa. Ha ke no kwata hape ha o noba mathateng.

Ke botsitse batho haebe ke hantle ho o botsa dipotso.

Ha o dumela, ke tshepisa hore ha ke no jwetsa batho. O ka bua seo o se batlang hobane ha ke ya dumellwa ho jwetsa batho.

Ka ya leboha.

Catherine

Participant consent form – Guardian – Sesotho

Ke le _____ ke dumela hore ngwanaka anke karolo dipatlisisong tsa dithuto tsa dijo tse etswang ke Catherine Langsford. Ke utlwisisa hore ngwana ka o etsa hona mahala ntle le kgatello. Ke utlwisisa hore a ke e emisa ha a batla nako engwe le engwe ntle le kgatello ya letho.

Bohlokwa ba dithuto tsena se bohlalositswe ho nna hape ke ya utlwisisa hore ke lebelletseng jwalo ka monka karolo. Ke tseba hore ha ke tlo ntsha letho ho dithuto tsena.

Ke utlwisisa hore dikarabo tsa dipotso tsa kopano ha dino tsebahala le ditokomane tsa ka ha dino tsejwa. Ke utlwisisa hore motho a tla dibona ke mofuputsi le mothusi wa hae.

Ke jwetsitswe hore ha ho kgonahala ke tla fuwa dintlha tsa dithuto hang feela ha mofuputsi a qetile.

_____ _____

Bopaki ba mofuputsi Mohla

Ho ke nyelletswa ha rekoto

Ho ke nyelletswa ha rekoto, ke dumellana le hore e be teng kopanong ya rona mabapile le ditaba tsa rona. Ke jwetsitswe hore bopaki botla bolokwa. Ke utlwisisa hore bopaki botla khabotong ho fihla nako e kalo ka dilemo tse supa.

_____ _____

Bopaki ba mofuputsi Mohla

Participant information sheet – Adult – isiZulu

Sawubona

Igama lami ngingu Catherine Langsford. Ngifunda e "Wits" Yunivezithi (isikole semfundo ephakameyo). Ngifundela isiqu se "Masters" ezifundweni zokuthuthukisa. Ngithanda ukwazi kabanzi ngezinhlelo zokuphana ngokudla (feeding schemes) ezitholakala ezikolweni. Ngingajabula uma ningavuma ukuphendula imibuzo mayelana nalezizinhlelo zokudla.

Injongo yalolucwaningo (research) ukuthola ulwazi ngokusetshenziswa kwalezizinhlelo zokuphana ngokudla eNingizimu Afrika. Ngiyathemba ukuthi lolucwaningo luzosetshenziswa ukwenza iziphakamiso ezinhlanganweni nakulabo abaphethe. Imiphumela yalolucwaningo izotholakala kwiriphothi eyingxenye yezifundo zami. Ingxenye yalolucwaningo ukuxoxisana, ukubuza imibuzo nokuhlaziya amapolisi (policy documents).

Ngikhethe ukuxoxisana nawe, ngoba nginethemba lokuthi unolwazi ngokusetshenziswa kwezinhlelo zokuphana ngokudla. Ngiyathemba ukuthi uzonginika isithombe esicacile ngaloluhlelo. Ngithemba ukuthi imicabango namacebo akho abalulekile ngoba athathelwe kulwazi lwakho lwezinhlelo zokuphana ngokudla.

Ngifuna uquniseke ukuthi ukuhlanganyela kwakho kulolucwaningo uzenzela ngentando yakho awuphoqiwe. Ngiyakumema ukuba uhlanganyele kulolucwaningo ngoba ngicabanga ukuthi ukuhlanganyela kwakho kuzoba usizo kulabo aba (concerned). Qiniseka ukuthi awuphoqiwe ukuphendula imibuzo, angeke ujeziswe uma ungafuni ukuhlanganyela. Uma sewuqalile ukuphendula imibuzo ungayeka noma nini uma uzwa ukuthi awusafuni ukuphendula imibuzo. Akekho ozobandlululwa uma engafuni ukuhlanganyela noma uma efuna ukuyeka emva kokuba eseqalile ukuhlanganyela kulolucwaningo.

Lonke ulwazi onginika lona, luzoba imfihlo. Angeke ngilisebenzise igama lakho kwiriphothi yalolucwaningo kanti futhi akekho ongakuhlanganisa nezimpendulo ozinikile.

Ukuphendula imibuzo kuzothatha imizuzu engamashumi amathathu (30 minutes). Ngicela ukuba ukhululeke uphendule ngokweqiniso yonke imibuzo. Ungitshele ngesimo njengoba sinjalo, hayi njengoba kumele sibenjalo. Ukhululekile ukungaphenduli uma ucabanga ukuthi imibuzo ayifanelekile noma ikhombisa ukungabi nozwelo.

Uma kwenzeka, ngingathanda ukuba sihlangane nginibikele noma nginixoxele ngemiphumela yocwaningo lwami nokuthi izoba nomthelela onjani kulabo aba (concerned).

Uma unemibuzo mayelana nalolucwaningo, ungangishayela ucingo kulenombolo 083 9532144. Inombolo yefekisi = 011 894 1759, ikheli le imeyili = cathlangsford@gmail.com

Ngiyabonga

Catherine

Participant consent form – Adult – isiZulu

Mina _____
ngiyavuma ukuhlanganyela kulolucwaningo lwezinhlelo zokuphana ngokudla olwenziwa u Catherine Langsford. Ngiyazi ukuthi angiphoqiwe ukuhlanganyela kulolucwaningo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi nginga yeka uma ngizizwa ukuthi angisafuni ukuqhubeka nokuphendula imibuzo nokuthi lesisinqumo asisho ukuthi ngizobandlululwa.

Injongo yalolucwaningo sengiyichazelwe futhi njengoba ngizohlanganyela kulololucwaningo ngiqonda konke okumele ngikwenze. Ngiyazi ukuthi angeke ngizuze ngobumina(personally) noma ngemali (financially) noma ngabe ngeyiphi indlela (any other way) ngokuhlanganyela kulolucwaningo.

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi izimpendulo zami kwimibuzo yocwaningo zizoba yimfihlo nokuthi imininingwane ngami ayivezi igama lami. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi umuntu ozobona izimpendulo zami yilowo ocwaningayo kanye nomhloli wakhe.

Ngitsheliwe ukuthi uma kwenzeka ekupheleni kocwaningo ngizobikelwa ngemiphumela yalolucwaningo.

_____ _____
Ukusayina (igama lomuntu elilotshwe nguye) Usuku lwenyanga nonyaka (Date)

Ukuvuma ukurekhodwa (recording)

Ngaphezu kokunika imvume ngehla, Ngiyavuma futhi ukuphendula imibuzo ngokurekhodwa ngomshini wokuzwa (tape recording). Ngitsheliwe ukuthi izimpendulo ezirekhodiwe zizohlala ziyimfihlo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi okurekhodiwe kuzogcinwa ekhabetheni elikhiyiwe isikhathi esingangeminyaka eyisikhombisa.

_____ _____
Ukusayina (igama lomuntu elilotshwe nguye) Usuku lwenyanga nonyaka (Date)

Participant information sheet – Learner – isiZulu

Sawubona

Igama lami ngingu Catherine Langsford. Ngithanda izincwadi nokufunda.

Ngifuna ukwazi ngokudla okudlayo esikoleni sakho. Nginemibuzo emayelane nokudla okutholayo nokuthi uyakuthanda na lokukudla.

Uma unquma ukuthi uyafuna ukungisiza, mina ngizokubuza imibuzo. Akunankinga uma ungafuni ukungisiza. Angeke ngithukuthele noma ngikufake enkingeni.

Ngicele imvume kulowo ongumgcini wakho ukuthi ngikubuze imibuzo.

Uma uvuma, ngiyathembisa ukuthi angeke ngitshele abanye lokho ozokusho kimi. Ungasho noma yini ofuna ukuyisho ngoba angivunyelwe ukutsthela abanye ukuthi wena utheni kimi.

Ngiyabonga!

Catherine

Participant consent form – Guardian – isiZulu

Mina _____
ngiyavumela ingane yami u _____
ukuba ahlanganyele kucwaningo lwezinhlelo zokuphan ngokudla olwenziwa u Catherine Langsford. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ingane yami ikhululekile futhi ayiphoqiwe ukuhlanganyela kulolucwaningo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ingane yami ingayeka uma izizwa ukuthi ayisafuni ukuqhubeka ukuphendula imibuzo nokuthi lesisinqumo asisho ukuthi izobandlululwa.

Mina nengane yami sesichazelwe ngenjongo yalolucwaningo futhi njengoba izohlanganyela kulololucwaningo ngiqonda konke okumele akwenze. Ngiyazi ukuthi angeke sizuze ngobuthina (personally) noma ngemali (financially) noma ngabe ngeyiphi indlela (any other way) ngokuhlanganyela kulolucwaningo.

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi izimpendulo zengane yami kwimibuzo yocwaningo zizoba yimfihlo nokuthi imininingwane yengane ayivezi igama layo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi umuntu ozobona izimpendulo zengane yami yilowo ocwaningayo kanye nomhloli wakhe.

Ngitsheliwe ukuthi uma kwenzeka, ekupheleni kocwaningo mina nengane yami sizobikelwa ngemiphumela yalolucwaningo.

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Ukusayina (igama lomuntu elilotshwe nguye) Usuku lwenyanga nonyaka (Date)

Ukuvuma ukurekhodwa (recording)

Ngaphezu kokunika imvume ngehla, Ngiyavuma futhi ukuthi ingane yami iphendule imibuzo ngokurekhodwa ngomshini wokuzwa (tape recording). Ngitsheliwe ukuthi izimpendulo zengane yami ezirekhodiwe zizohlala ziyimfihlo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi okurekhodiwe kuzogcinwa ekhabetheni elikhiyiwe isikhathi esingangeminyaka eyisikhombisa uma sekuphele ukuqoqa nokuhlaziya izimpendulo nemibono.

_____ _____
Ukusayina (igama lomuntu elilotshwe nguye) Usuku lwenyanga nonyaka (Date)